



# ***JPRS Report***

## **Near East & South Asia**

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### Benefits of Separate ArSSR Currency Assessed

9IAS0556C Paris HARATCH in Armenian  
11 Jan 91 p 2

[Article by Arpi Totoyan: "Toward a Separate Currency"]

[Excerpt] Now that Armenia's political life has settled on a stable course—even though some faltering still persists—economic issues loom even more prominently and compellingly. The more the importance of this issue is stressed as a principal and essential element of a healthy political course, the clearer and bigger its difficulties and problems become. Today, virtually nobody doubts that a nation which has chosen independence as its political objective cannot circumvent the economic issue if it wants to attain that goal. On the contrary, the distance that has been covered so far demonstrates that economic strength and autonomy are the most important elements of the desired political state.

How can Armenia's economic independence be assured with a past fettered by thousands of union bonds and a present tormented by mutual contradictions? What character will or can the country assume in an international circus which is governed solely by economic rules?

These and related questions must have been on the mind of G. Sardaryan, a correspondent of HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN, when he turned for answers to Artashes Tumanyan, the deputy chairman of the Finance and Budget Committee of the Armenian Supreme Soviet.

Tumanyan first states his diagnosis: "We must implement concurrently the political, economic, and financial measures required for the ultimate goal of national independence, while being prepared to overcome every hardship and to formulate our stance on the realities that may emerge." However, the problem does not end there because in our case "those realities may become double-edged swords." This can happen because of the policies of the central government and the limitations of the situation that may be created. Tumanyan says: "We must give consideration to the issue of creating our own currency during the process of developing our relations which are beset with numerous pitfalls."

The idea of a separate currency is rarely encountered in articles about Armenia's economy. Many writers have stressed the need for a separate and independent economy, but virtually no one has ventured to elaborate that issue further, to take it up at a practical level and to say what stages are needed to attain that essential goal. In this connection, what Tumanyan says is interesting: "The creation of a separate currency would be one of the most important steps in the transition to a market economy and would guarantee the creation of a stable national economy."

Tumanyan sees two paths for the creation of a separate currency: An Armenian currency that is circulated concurrently with the rouble until the new money drives the old one out with the improvement of the Republic's economy. He calls the second approach "the abrupt transition": "We throw away the rouble and introduce the national currency." This second approach is not unlikely to become imperative given "the probability of radicalism and abruptness in popular activities and unprecedented political upheavals in the Union." Tumanyan thinks that one way or the other the separate currency must be put into circulation at the most opportune moment.

He assigns another responsibility to the separate currency. Gorbachev himself is in favor of economic reform and believes that such reforms must create a unified free market which "deters demands for national interests and plans." In other words, he envisages to calm down national movements by these reforms and to conquer the people in the atmosphere of the general market of a vast imperial country. Tumanyan says that a separate Armenian currency will have a responsibility here. He says: "As the expression of an autonomous national economy it will become a strategic fence which will prevent all-Union free-market mechanisms from penetrating the Republic."

A separate currency brings with it certain obligations such as a separate banking system and finance policies. Today such entities are not part of Armenia's daily routine. Tumanyan acknowledges: "Today our state bank is a branch of the central bank of USSR. Moreover, in terms of its functions it can be considered as a mere office of the central bank of USSR in Armenia." This situation means, for example, that "investments using money from overseas (including the Diaspora) cannot be realized without the approval of the USSR banking system."

After pointing out these issues, Tumanyan restates interconnected status of Armenia's economy with that of the Soviet Union which makes the problem particularly complex. As a solution, he proposes to replace vertical ties with horizontal ones, that is to replace ties with the center with ties with different republics. This will certainly meet with resistance from the center.

After this theoretical proposal, his reasoning proceeds with "ifs." Tumanyan says: "If the centrifugal forces triumph, everything will proceed in the direction of strengthening the republics' autonomy. As our economy grows more autonomous and vigorous, the Armenian currency will grow stronger to become a circutable currency and will drive out the rouble."

Tumanyan considers ties with the center the main obstacle to the creation of an autonomous economic system. He says: "We must pursue a flexible policy because, if we evaluate the reality soberly, we see that our

dependence on the center for raw materials and technology is enormous and that we are dealing with an impaired though powerful state." [passage omitted]

### **New Dashnak Press Office in Sisian**

*91AS0422A Paris GAMK in Armenian 13 Dec 90 p 1*

[Excerpt] Sisian—The Press Center of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation [ARF] in Armenia has been endowed with a second office that has been opened in Sisian.

The local office of the ARF Press and Information Center in Sisian began operating on 10 December under the leadership of Tatul Sunetsi, a young intellectual and historian.

Initially, the Sisian office will be responsible for transmitting to the Yerevan office news from the Zangezur region.

Press and information offices are also planned in other regions of Armenia in the near future with the purpose of acquainting the Fatherland, the expatriate and the foreign world about developments across the Armenian Republic. [passage omitted]

### **Status of Private ArSSR Colleges Outlined**

*91AS0422B Paris GAMK in Armenian 13 Dec 90 p 2*

[Excerpt] Four new-style higher educational institutions, organized as cooperatives, are now in operation in Yerevan: Mut, Galik, Gladzor, and Inzhener Prokres. The latter has branches in Charentsavan, Kumayri, Kirovakan, and Stepanakert. This report is the product of interviews with the directors of the said institutions—except Mut—the Republic's deputy minister of public education, and the deputy chairman of the Education, Science, Language, and Culture Committee of the Armenian Supreme Soviet.

### **Preparation of Cadres**

[Passage omitted] The Armenian Republic has embarked on the path of independence and restoration of statehood. This obviously presumes the formulation of new political relations with both the outside world and the other union republics. An autonomous internal and external policy presents new problems to the people's economy, and the impact of market relations has already begun to be felt. Are we ready to manage this situation and to generate appropriate policies? Can we adapt ourselves to the modalities of market economics? Do we have appropriate cadres who can defend the interests of our republic and people and who can conclude mutually profitable contracts? These are the problems which Gladzor, Galik, and Inzhener-Progress plan to tackle. These schools train marketing directors, finance experts, and businessmen. Gladzor teaches international law, international relations, and law. Galik offers courses in

general law, foreign economic relations, the legal organization of business, cooperative management, management of agricultural production, the scientific organization of labor, and so forth. Inzhener-Progress specializes in international economics and government, organization of international trade, economics of international construction, agricultural economics, the legal basis of international economic relations.

Is the novelty of these new-style higher educational institutions simply the fact that they charge tuition? Obviously not. They have adopted new approaches with regard to admissions—Inzhener-Progress admits students without any examinations—academic curricula, and instructional methods. It must be noted that the principal reason for the creation of this new type of higher educational institution is probably the ineffectiveness and unproductivity of the existing educational system—a fact that is acknowledged even by the Ministry of Public Education. On the other hand, although the ministry has acknowledged the advantages of the new-style educational institutions, it has not offered them any practical assistance so far. The ministry claims that its meager attempt to intervene has been met with resistance. Apparently at the ministry they forget that any new phenomenon requires new approaches and that old methods are often rejected. The principal reason the cooperative higher educational institutions feel the need for assistance from the ministry is the high cost of the buildings housing the institutions. The cooperative institutions also need help in instructional methods and textbooks for new courses, not to mention in drafting academic curricula. They are prepared to pay for all these services because they are self-financing organizations.

### **Financial Problems**

It has already been mentioned that the cooperative higher educational institutions charge tuition for the education they offer. A student pays R [rubles] 5,000 per year for enrollment in regular programs and R 3,000 per year for enrollment in preparatory courses. Applicants must pay R 100 to take part in admission interviews and examinations. These are the revenue sources for the budgets of cooperative educational institutions. These revenues are spent to pay for lecturers whose salaries are twice those of their counterparts in state institutions. Large sums are spent on the reproduction of essential textbooks which are difficult to procure. The intensive teaching of foreign languages requires the construction and outfitting of state-of-the-art instructional booths. Rent for buildings is another expense. Even under these conditions, Gladzor can offer [free] education to three students from the disaster zone and two from the Diaspora, paying them a stipend equal to the average wage in the Republic—R 150 a month—and providing them with free room and board.

### **Overseas Ties**

The directors of the cooperative higher educational institutions have carried out extensive work to modify

academic curricula. The director of Galik, Frunzik Kharatyan, a doctor of jurisprudence, has established contact with international centers and makes use of their curricula. The director of Gladzor, Zhora Jihangiryan, a doctoral candidate of jurisprudence, utilizes the curricula of the Institute of International Relations in Moscow.

A major portion of the specialized topics taught is unknown to perhaps our best lecturers. This, together with the absence of curricula with clear objectives, may jeopardize the success of the good work that has been started. Here, state assistance and quick and practical intervention are imperative. In order to prepare lawyers and economists for international business, foreign specialists knowledgeable in these subjects and perfected curricula are needed. Otherwise, there will be little difference between the graduates of the cooperative institutions and those of the state institutions. That undertaking requires foreign currency, which the cooperative institutions do not have. The director of Galik is preparing to organize a joint agricultural venture with overseas investors in order to procure foreign currency, but that is for the future.

#### **Degree Equivalency Problem**

Will the degrees conferred by the cooperative higher educational institutions be equivalent to those granted by their state counterparts? This issue, which is of concern to many people, is beset by controversy. The Republic's Ministry of Public Education has received a

document signed by the Deputy Minister of Public Education which states that the degrees conferred by a cooperative institution are not equivalent to the degrees conferred by state institutions because the cooperative institutions have not yet been accredited by the appropriate all-Union directorates. The directors of the cooperative institutions and Grachya Grigoryan, the chairman of the relevant committee in the parliament, have strongly protested this decision, pointing out the Declaration on Independence and the law on "the formation of cooperatives" [kooperatsya]. These protests notwithstanding, we must acknowledge that the Armenian Republic is for the moment part of the Soviet Union which has all-Union regulations regarding graduation documents. Paragraph Five of Article 31 of the law on "the formation of cooperatives" states that the state must assist the cooperatives and their associations to develop their network of institutions. In other words, it must assist those higher educational institutions which operate under the aegis of the said organizations.

In order to end the present confusion, the cooperative higher educational institutions, which currently have more than 1,000 students and a staff of highly qualified faculty, must eventually receive state assistance. In addition, the status of these institutions must be explicitly outlined in the proposed reorganization of the educational system which is being drafted by the relevant committee of the parliament. Only then will the graduates of cooperative higher educational institutions be able to realize the political and economic objectives of our new state.

## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

### Missile Damage Profiled

TA28021740A Tel Aviv HADASHOT in Hebrew  
28 Feb 91 p 12

[Editorial Report] Batya Feldman gives a summary of the damage to Ramat Gan and Tel Aviv since the first missile was launched on 17 Jan. The damage to Ramat Gan was: All in all 1,644 families were evacuated of which 585 are still in five hotels. Seventy flats and houses were completely destroyed. The occupants are living in rented apartments in the meantime. Next week, the municipality is supposed to publish reconstruction plans. The rest are owners of apartments which have suffered different degrees of damage, and which are waiting for renovation assistance.

Tel-Aviv: All in all, 4,095 buildings were damaged; 3,991 apartments and residential buildings, 331 public institutions, 17 education institutions and 54 businesses. Until today, 1,806 buildings have been repaired and returned to their occupants. Eighty-seven apartments are to be demolished, and another 863 have to undergo extensive renovations. The rest require small repairs—blinds, doors and windows.

Of the 509 families who were evacuated to hotels, 223 have already returned to their homes or have made alternative arrangements. Two-hundred and eighty six families in 14 hotels are still waiting for an arrangement. During the coming weeks, 60 caravans will be provided for families in one of the city's southern neighborhoods. These individuals have not succeeded in renting apartments, and do not want to leave the area.

### Palestinian Leadership Forming in Israeli Jails

91AE0249A Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 28 Dec 90 p 15

[Article by Mikhal Sela]

[Text] Two men sit on a crate, their hands tied behind them, their eyes blindfolded with a piece of cloth, their backs bent. Their bodies tremble from the rocking motion of an imagined bus trip. From time to time one of them will let out an "ow" accompanied by a jerk of the neck like someone who has just received a sharp blow to the nape. "Golani forward" they call out in time to the rhythm dictated by an unseen soldier. "The commander is always right," and "'Arafat is a maniac," they shout in the prescribed rhythm.

The hall opposite the stage is jam-packed with an audience of 15 to 25 year olds. The whistling, accompanied by "Go 'Arafat," heard as the lights went down, was drowned out by the heart-felt silence in the East Jerusalem theatre hall still known as the "Kuwaiti" despite the fact that that group disbanded long ago. "'Ansar" is a two-man play produced last month at the Palestinian theater festival organized by the actor and producer George Ibrahim.

"One day they returned all our things, including money and watches, put us in buses, tied our hands behind our backs and blindfolded us," asserts 'Adnan al-Dimayri while sitting in an easy chair in the same position as the two lads on stage, recreating the day on which he was transferred from the 'Atlit prison to the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] facility in Qasiyot. His bent head straightens up almost automatically. "We did not know what they were going to do with us and where they were taking us. But we learned very quickly that it was better to hold our heads up or the blows would land and you would not know from what direction or when."

### The First Rotation

'Al-Dimayri did not see the performance in Jerusalem. He was in the first rotation of West Bank people to arrive at Qasiyot on the day it was officially opened, 24 March 1988. People from Gaza had arrived the week before.

Prisons for Palestinians, and especially the Qasiyot penitentiary, became a part of the lives of the Palestinians, a part that has taken on legendary dimensions, a national myth. Almost every family has someone who has gone through the experience, the hardships and the degradation, along with feeling the pride, because you are not a man unless you have been in prison. This was the experience of internal adjustments that became known as the "Palestinian National Academy" and left a mixed taste of bitterness and warmth. It is somewhat reminiscent of what is created by common service in a field unit, a comradeship among men.

'Al-Dimayri, 36, the father of three children, knows prison life well, from the days when he was active as a student at the 'A-Najah University in Shekhem and afterward also as chairman of the student council under PLO auspices.

When the intifadah broke out the Shin Bet was thunderstruck, according to 'Al-Dimayri. He says, "By the scope of the detentions, it seemed as if someone had gone to the town plaza in Shekhem, put up a fence around it and transported anyone who happened to be there at the time to the detention camps. There were people of all ages and all social groups there." Consequently there were times when the facility held three thousand administrative detainees. It took them six months, according to 'Al-Dimayri, to get over the shock, and then they began to release them.

### A School for Palestinian Democracy

Life within the prison facility, as they call it in the IDF, is self-rule, he says. "It does not come out of thin air, it is an experience acquired over long years of prison life. It was that way in the central Palestinian prisons and that is how it was copied in Qasiyot." The Palestinians document that experience in books. Gibril Rajuv, who was expelled in the first year of the intifadah, wrote a book about his life in the Janayd prison. 'Abd al Qasm wrote "Days in the Negev Prison."

In the view of 'Al Dimayri, this prison facility is a school for Palestinian democracy. The organization begins from the moment they get to the prison even beginning with the very first meal. "They bring 100 men into a fenced in area and someone orders: 'Pick out three people to bring in the food.' That is a problem. Who will go? Will he be reliable and distribute fairly? How will they eat? Will they attack like animals? There has to be organization! We were dying of hunger, but who would choose the person to distribute? The soldier? We were not about to leave it to him. But you have to know who is distributing. It has to be someone whom you trust to be absolutely fair."

Within the group 'Al-Dimayri located shaykh 'Umar, who was older than the others. "We will accept you as a father; you will distribute the food to your children," he told him. All the others were told to stay in their places. "And what did they give us? A chest full of bread, jelly, margarine and onions." Shaykh 'Umar was head of the food committee in 'Al-Dimayri's section until the day of his release, about four months.

"The food in prison was an important issue. You have to eat well in order to maintain your body and, especially, your soul and spirit. According to Islamic tradition, hunger postpones prayer."

'Al-Dimayri will never forget his first day in the place. "We had no idea where we were. It was nighttime and deserted." After a while they removed the blindfolds. The first problem was the bathroom—the first Hebrew word a Palestinian prisoner learns. The soldier on guard agreed to let them go one at a time. 'Al-Dimayri remembers him as a nice guy who works in 'Osem.

### The Food Committee

Registration started afterward. The regular induction process included taking the prisoner's effects, distributing clothes and allotting one tray of food for every two people, and giving each person a number. The two actors stand on the stage of the Kuwaiti theater and call out numbers in a chilling sequence. "At 'Ansar a man loses his name and becomes a number," 'Al-Dimayri says. His first number was 808 and he will remember it forever. In his last detention he was number 31,615. "The daily count is the most degrading and nerve-wracking process for the prisoners," Qasm writes in his book. After protracted negotiations between the prisoners and the administration, some small changes were introduced.

The prisoners learned the name of the place, Qasiyot, from the Red Cross representatives who came to visit after a few weeks. On the spot they decided to call it 'Ansar-3 in an attempt to draw a parallel with the 'Ansar prison camp in Lebanon.

After the food committee, other committees arose. Every tent sends a representative and the tent representatives elect a committee of three or five members. Today it is already well organized.

There is a subcommittee that concerns itself with dish washing, cleaning the bathroom and solving internal disputes. It is also a disciplinary committee authorized to hand out punishments such as cleanup, pot washing, which is harsh punishment, washing trays, and preventing people from smoking. The treasury committee keeps the cigarettes, which it takes for all the prisoners and distributes only to smokers. If one inmate strikes another, he gets a blow with a broomstick. Sexual offenses are the most serious in prison "and are very rare. For those offenses someone's hand may be broken."

### Education and Culture

The culture and education committee is the most important. "A prisoner must not have free time. Idleness is the mother of all sin. This committee was created spontaneously. The members sat in a tent and each one told what he knew and what he could teach the others." A doctor who was in the group, for example, taught the members how to avoid prison illnesses: itching, hemorrhoids, stomach ulcers, rashes, etc. But from the very beginning, politics was the main topic of conversation. Over time the studies became focused. They elected committees in which all the political parties were represented and put together a curriculum. Today in 'Ansar-3 there are two main study tracks. One takes place in the morning. "There is a lecture for young people, those who have been recently arrested and who do not yet have any firm political views." The activity takes place in small groups, one for every political line of thought. The stage of the theater is all abuzz with the two actors sitting on the floor, their backs to one another, each lecturing to an unseen audience.

The second activity takes place in the afternoon. This is the general session where someone lectures on current matters. The last lecture that 'Al-Dimayri gave was on Palestinian literature as a literature of place, of geography. On other occasions they discussed the Gulf crisis, issues raised by the 'Intifadah such as family finances, popular education, and civil rebellion. Once they talked about the songs of Mahmud Darawish.

Alongside the culture committee is the 'Ansar-3 newspaper committee, a translation committee that daily translates the papers sent by the Red Cross.

### The Supreme Institution

The supreme struggle committee is the prisoners' highest institution, a kind of council of ministers, and here there is no national unity. The organizations represented in the PLO or, in the language of the intifadah, "the United National Leadership," have their own committee and the religious groups have another. Here representation is not by tents and sections but each bloc has a committee, with equal representation for each organization. "But everyone knows his weight. Contrary to what the Israelis claim, Fatah still has an overwhelming majority." This committee handles general prisoner policy and certifies the studies program. Coordination and communication

between blocs works via a "stone FAX," a stone covered with paper tossed from bloc to bloc.

The organization of the committees was not ideal according to Qasm's book, and was accompanied by disputes and violence among the activists. It took four months for their activity to become routine, rather a long time in his estimation.

### The Foreign Minister

The "foreign minister" is a unique committee, but one accepted by all the political streams. 'Al-Dimayri was foreign minister of Qasiyot and was replaced by Zahran abu-Qabita of Yata. "The foreign minister must first of all know Hebrew, have political experience and, most important of all, have a nonviolent character. He must have persuasive ability in order to persuade the prison administration of the justice of the prisoners' demands. The problems that concern the prison authorities and the prisoners are small, unimportant ones, but during a long detention they become paramount." Today, for example, Qasiyot has a television set. That one set passes from section to section, and on it they play the videotape of Israeli TV's Friday broadcast in Arabic. But the foreign minister's discussions with the administration began with more basic concerns: the composition of the food and the way it was prepared, supplying spoons for eating, supplying pencils and writing paper for the prisoners, and supplying detainees with newspapers, letters, and books.

"Imagine how it would be if there were no committees in the jail. Could the police manage the place? No! Solve problems? No!"

The two prisoners in the play staged at the Palestinian theater have a private secret: They discovered a plant that took root in the sand and decided to care for it. The bud is growing into a small tree and the one prisoner makes the other one swear that if he should die, his friend would continue to water it.

In his book Qasm tells about private study groups, about dances, games and theater, and about literary creativity. 'Al-Dimayri sculpted in stone and keeps his creations at home. Qasm has a list of prisoners who stood out as talented sculptors.

Whoever managed to get a picture of his wife or children (on condition that the child is without a kafiya and without his fingers raised in a "V") made a frame for it from an empty tube of toothpaste to hang it in the tent. "In the life of a detainee, such trivial things take on special significance."

### Without Women

Women take on a special significance when they are spoken or thought about. In a masculine setting such as a jail, women are an important topic. To this day there are no family visits in "Ansar-3," because of disagreements between prison administrators and the prisoners'

lawyers on how to arrange them. Several women soldiers work in the prison administration, but they are hardly seen. The most important woman in the first days of the prison was 'Orna, the policewoman responsible for "registration,"—the prison vocabulary is always in Hebrew. She was the prisoners' "lady." First they called her "Ayman's mother" because 'Ayman, a prisoner from Gaza, made friends with her. "We were thinking of arranging a marriage between them."

'Orna's behavior was shocking to them. "When you say 'Orna, everyone says 'Sit on your butt' with a smile. I would never have imagined that a woman could say something like that," 'Al-Dimayri says. And the stick, a woman with a truncheon. It was hard for the male prisoners to get used to that. "Until someone told her: Leave that for the male soldier! That helped and over the course of time she became more refined." "Discharge" was another name the prisoners gave 'Orna because she processed the discharges.

Once, when 'Al-Dimayri saw the Red Cross delegation arriving, with a woman among them, he stood alongside the fence and shouted: "Today we are getting eye drops." When he remembers that day, he still gets the same lump in his throat he did then.

The yearnings for his wife were difficult, he confesses. So much so that when they once managed to steal a chicken from "Supply," a commodity that only the soldiers got, someone said, "At least it is female."

In the play the two find a pencil, they straighten out the paper from a cigarette box and begin to write a letter to their sisters. It is all yearnings.

A collective outlet for those yearnings was provided by political lectures and discussions. There they spoke of woman's role as fighter and contributor to the national struggle. Each one with his own political approach. The religious ones saw her traditional function at home with her head covered: the secular ones spoke about her function in all aspects of the struggle.

"In a society so lacking in women, woman becomes something else. Not the appearance, not the face, not the body. These are stirrings of the soul."

### Organization Out of Nothing

When the prisoners decided to call the place 'Ansar-3, they thought, as we said, of the prison camp in Lebanon established by General Tzemah, who later set up the facility in Qasiyot. The first "Ansar" was perceived by the Palestinians as a heroic experience, and when 'Al-Dimayri talks about Salah Ta'amri, the senior Fatah commander who did time there, you can hear a hint of adulation. 'Al-Dimayri knows almost by heart the book, "To Go Into Captivity" written by 'Aharon Barne'a and 'Amalia 'Argaman-Barnea about Ta'amri and life in "Ansar," which was translated into Arabic. He hopes that he himself will be able to write the story of his "Ansar."

"The difference is that they were all war prisoners, soldiers. Their commanders were incarcerated with them, and that was the basis for their internal organization. They knew in advance who the commander was. With us, we had to start from zero. We are all civilians without military experience, without a prearranged hierarchy." In 'Ansar-3 a natural process of leadership growth took place. More than that, in 'Al-Dimayri's opinion, here and apparently in other jails they learn to appreciate democracy and its freedoms.

What remains of it when they leave there? "A unique experience. It is the only place where they know how to listen to each other, where Communists and Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] people sleep together. Anyone who has been in jail is more open to the opinions of others."

The main difference between Qasiyot and other prisons is in the degree of professionalism of those in charge of the place. Two years passed before the IDF understood the problem. General Tzemah, who set up the Qasiyot facility, is an engineering officer by military training.

"Soldiers are not jailers, they do not prepare them for that. They treated us like combatant prisoners of war, and it was hard to find any common language with them. We are civilians, not soldiers."

Until recently Commander Tzemah was the scourge of the place. He was a man with no respect for the prisoners involved in a camp riot during the course of which two detainees were killed by fire from IDF forces, at least one of them, apparently, by Tzemah himself. "In the beginning we called it the Tzemah facility. He thought that he was the Minister of Defense. That man is sick; he has the mentality of a criminal. In our eyes he is a murderer," 'Al-Dimayri says.

The new commander, Ze'ev She'alti'el, wins lots of kudos, which were even expressed recently by MK Dadi Tzuqer (Ratz) after a visit to Qasiyot. "He is disciplined, balanced. Alongside him I felt that I respected him as an administrator, that he was cultured and did not speak roughly to us."

'Adnan 'Al-Dimayri spent 23 months at 'Ansar-3 over the last three years: eleven months consecutively and another two periods of six months. Between the years 1975 and 1981 he occasionally did time in Shekhem, in Tul-Karm, in Jenin and in Kfar Yona. The administrative charges against him: a Fatah activist, a Fatah commander, a prison activist. "Whether inside or outside, they say that I am an instigator. Then let them put me in isolation (another prison term) or let them release me."

But 'Adnan, the politician, the activist in the national struggle, is also a father and husband. He says that his son Tzumud, 3, is angry about sleeping in the same room with his mother.

His nine year old daughter keeps a diary. "My father was arrested on such and such a date..." she has written several times. "My daughter's diary is the diary of my prison life." His dream is to go a year without being arrested, to stay with his children. "Every evening before I go to sleep, I kiss the children. Tomorrow I may not see them."

"Your memory, my daughter, hurts the image of the soldiers," 'Al-Dimayri wrote in one of his poems. "That soldier, Jalil (the name of one of his sons), I saw him meditating alone, like a human being...Do you have a son like me? I asked him...I saw a tear on his cheeks. He turned his face away from me and his rifle answered: These are orders."

## EGYPT

### Official Says Debt Forgiveness Not Enough

91AA0178A London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic  
4 Jan 91 pp 36-37

[Article by Mahmud Salim]

[Text] Negotiations are currently taking place between Egypt and both the IMF and the World Bank amid many international developments and close monitoring by international financial circles.

The economic circles in Egypt and the world are waiting for the outcome of these talks.

Will this round of negotiations succeed? How will they contribute to solving the problems of the Egyptian economy? Is this the last round of the negotiations that have been going on for a long time? Why did the negotiations take such a long time?

Dr. 'Irfan Shafi'i, first undersecretary for international-financing-authority affairs at the Egyptian Ministry of International Cooperation, has, by virtue of his position, participated in these negotiations. As a former economics professor, he sheds light on these issues.

The following is an interview with Dr. Shafi'i:

[AL-HAWADITH] Are the current talks between Egypt, the IMF, and the World Bank the last round of negotiations? Is Egypt's agreement with these international bodies still equally necessary in light of the forgiving of Egypt's Arab debts and the cancellation of U.S. military debts?

[Shafi'i] The current negotiations are extremely important. The final decisive round of talks could take place at the end of January 1991, and so the desired agreements will be reached next March. The importance of these agreements lies in the fact that they symbolize support by the world financial community for Egypt's economic reform steps. As a consequence, Egypt will be able to obtain further exemptions or reliefs or to reschedule some of Egypt's foreign debts. Egypt will also be able to

obtain the necessary additional financing at the level required to finance foreign trade and development projects, whether from the IMF, the World Bank, or other sources of financing.

There is no doubt that debts forgiven by the Arab countries and the United States so far, totalling about \$14 billion, are enormous and worthy of appreciation. But they are not sufficient to revive the Egyptian economy. The greater part of Egypt's foreign debts still exists and constitutes a major burden, especially since the Gulf crisis has diminished Egypt's ability to service its foreign debts because its revenues of foreign currency have dropped by at least \$5 billion during the 1990-91 fiscal year, and because the financial burden on the state budget has increased by an additional \$5 billion at least for projects to absorb the labor force that has returned from Kuwait and Iraq.

Thus, debt forgiveness by the Arab countries and the United States is only a good beginning on a long road but not the end of it. Friendly countries and international organizations should therefore continue to help the Egyptian economy by reducing some of the debts and providing grants, easy-term loans, and direct investments in order to enable Egypt to gain a greater domestic and foreign financial balance, develop its economic structure, and resume the process of development.

[AL-HAWADITH] The structural readjustment desired for Egypt is undoubtedly multifaceted. What are the priorities of national action in the short-term and long-term?

[Shafi'i] The policies and measures of structural readjustment which Egypt intends to carry out are a subject of consultations with international organizations because financing provided by these organizations is coupled with economic reform.

This economic reform or structural readjustment is based on several principal axes:

1. Proportional reduction of the role of the state and the public sector in the national economy to a degree necessary to achieve a balance and linkage between the volume of public expenditure and of available public revenues so that the state budget will gradually tend toward balance. This would enable laying down effective financial and currency policies to control inflation and increasing prices, while seeking to stabilize the rate of exchange of foreign currency and prevent the flight of capital abroad.

2. Liberating prices so as to catch up with world prices, increasing reliance on the mechanism of supply and demand, and utilizing realistic prices as indices and incentives for rationalizing decisions on consumption, savings, investments, and import and export, whether with regard to the public sector or the private sector, while developing the public sector so as to enjoy a great ability in self-management without daily government intervention. Also, easing or abolishing government

restrictions on economic activity in order to unleash the potentials of both the public and private sectors.

3. Developing the capabilities of production units in competitiveness and foreign exports, and giving the administrative bodies greater flexibility in order to keep up with international changes.

4. Allocating some of the foreign financial credits and grants to provide financing and guarantees in order to protect low-income people during the period of structural readjustment by implementing several complementary measures aimed at creating job opportunities and financing small labor intensive investment projects, providing training opportunities, continuing to provide health, educational, and basic services without reduction in allocations, and increasing pensions and other services.

These complementary measures involve great difficulties, but failing to implement them means facing greater problems and, God forbid, Egypt losing opportunities to deal with other grave long-term infrastructure problems, such as the population explosion, emigration from the countryside, rapid growth of cities, environmental pollution, depreciation of educational standards, and cultural confusion between traditionalism and modernism.

Also, measures of structural readjustment must be Egypt's immediate national goal to which there is no real alternative and which would contribute to propelling Egypt toward the desired cultural advancement.

[AL-HAWADITH] Can't Egypt carry out the structural readjustment in cooperation with friendly states without resorting to the IMF and the World Bank who lay down conditions that could undermine social and political stability?

[Shafi'i] The IMF and the World Bank in recent years have become agents of world financial circles and the advanced industrial states in monitoring and following up the financial conduct of debtor countries and in mobilizing the necessary additional foreign financing at the required level for those countries that prove to these organizations their implementation of disciplined financial policies, and the feasibility of the financing necessary to help them out of their troubles. Thus understanding and dealing with the IMF and the World Bank is an unavoidable necessity for the debtor countries. This is because it is the quickest method to come to an understanding with the creditor countries on a bilateral basis. This is in addition to the tremendous resources these organizations could provide and to their experience in financial reform.

I would add here that the East European countries and even the Soviet Union itself, following the accumulation of foreign debts and in view of their need for foreign financing, have, at the prompting of the United States, sought to come to an understanding to deal with the IMF and the World Bank. They applied for membership and they are on their way to doing so in order to acquire the

right to deal with these organizations and to obtain the financial assistance they offer during the period of structural readjustment which these countries will go through in switching from centralized planning to market economics.

With regard to conditions of economic reform which both the IMF and the World Bank lay down in order to quickly obtain usable loans, they are naturally like a bitter medicine necessary for treatment. The dose for reform can sometimes be too big to be accepted by the general public. Then objections are raised and demonstrations take place. But the responsibility for making the choice and implementing, in the final analysis, belong to the government and not those organizations. The organizations demand, for example, balancing the state budget. The government must increase revenues and reduce expenditures according to the formula it believes suitable for its conditions. If a government fails to increase revenues by the required amount in order to create a balance and resorts only to cutting expenditure and reducing subsidies, it will be primarily the fault of the ruling regime that is afraid or fails to increase taxes or raise levy, and accepts continuing financial losses in public sector companies.

Out of fairness it must be said here that both the World Bank and the IMF learn their lessons from experiences with all the countries. They try to be more cautious and careful than they were in the past in order not to undermine stability. For example, we find them more interested in and responsive to the needs of low-income people during periods of structural readjustment than they were in the past.

[AL-HAWADITH] Why did Egypt's negotiations with the IMF and the World Bank take so many long years. Is this something normal with the other countries?

[Al-Shafi'i] There are many reasons, some of them concern the Egyptian conditions and some others concern the nature of negotiations with these international organizations to obtain loans for structural readjustment for most of the countries in general.

1. Egypt is very careful to maintain a fine balance between the requirements of economic reform and social stability.

2. By virtue of its strategic position and political role, Egypt is qualified to receive a certain amount of bilateral grants and easy bilateral financing that would ease the pressure to resort to world commercial banks on a large scale, or to structural readjustment loans if their terms are difficult to accept and fulfill, such as when it is demanded that the rate of exchange be lowered, or that interest rates be raised, or that energy costs be increased, especially when such demands are exaggerated.

This is as far as the peculiarities of the Egyptian position are concerned. But with regard to the characteristics of negotiations with international organizations on obtaining structural readjustment loans in general, it is a

prolonged process for most of the countries for one or more of the following reasons:

1. What is needed in the first place is the realization that there is a new economic reality, and frankness with one's self as well as with others, without denying or hiding anything. After this new concept is acquired, a revision and a new universalization should be carried out in many of the institutions, policies, and legislative frameworks in order to adapt to the new reality.

2. Many of the existing institutions and people managing them strongly prefer or have an interest in maintaining the present familiar conditions, resent renovation, and resort to threats and rumor-mongering.

3. Change and renovation associated with structural readjustment will gradually be beneficial for the great majority of citizens, while certain small groups that will suffer will soon feel the damage or its imminent threat. Being small in number, those who will suffer can establish political pressure groups in order to stop or defer reform, while the majority that will benefit from reform remains silent and unorganized in political pressure groups.

4. Preparation for and negotiations for financing operations linked to economic reforms is a complex technical and political operation. It needs cooperation between several quarters on several levels in the borrowing state. There is also the coordination between the IMF and the World Bank in their capacity as joint partners in most cases, in addition to consultations with the creditor and granting countries abroad.

All this could take place during successive rounds, whenever new economic or international changes take place or whenever a difference occurs in statistics and estimates. In the end this will be followed by stages of drafting and signing [agreements] and so on.

5. The ministries and institutions engaged in traditional foreign borrowing need time to realize the importance of and need for setting up a work team specialized in and devoted to this new kind of borrowing linked to economic reform. This team should be a kind of a "reform center" empowered to carry out internal studies, researches, and consultations, and to undertake discussions abroad, instead of duplication of the channels of foreign contacts and negotiations. The work teams would also follow up implementation and monitoring of economic reform measures on dates to be agreed upon, unless there is a strong and justifiable reason for deviating from implementation schedules.

[AL-HAWADITH] A final question: Are you optimistic about Egypt's economic future?

[Shafi'i] Much of what will happen to us in the future depends on what we will achieve at present.

**Free Zones Authority Announces Trade Balance Surplus***91AA0167A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
6 Jan 91 p 10*

[Dispatch from Cairo by Safa' al-Minyawi: "Investments Authority Welcomes Arab Bids. Free Zones in Egypt Have Trade Surplus of \$576 Million"]

[Text] Free zones in Egypt had a trade surplus of \$576 million. Dr. Muhyi-al-Din al-Gharib, chairman of the executive council of the Investments Authority, said that the Authority will, as of the middle of this month, accept applications by Arab and foreign investors to initiate investment projects in the new 200-feddan free zone in al-Isma'iliyah governorate. Lots improved with basic utilities are now available for lease at the annual rate of \$1 per square meter.

He emphasized that the new zone offers such advantages as the availability of skilled Egyptian workers and proximity to such international marine and air gateways as the ports of Suez and Port Sa'id and Cairo airport.

The zone administration will make available all needed facilities such as telephones, telexes, and work and residency permits for foreigners, and communicating with government agencies.

He pointed out that the new zone does not fall under any regulatory state agency and will deal with the customs department only if the enterprise products were exported to domestic markets in Egypt. As with those in other Egyptian free zones, investment projects will enjoy all facilities offered by Investment Law No. 230 and its guidelines. Such facilities include exemptions from all sorts of taxes, customs exemptions for capital assets and production materials, exemption from export-import rules and regulations, and the right to export capital and profits.

The al-Isma'iliyah free zone offers such investment opportunities as the manufacture of ready-made clothes and electric tools and the assembly of automobiles, sewing machines, and computers.

Dr. Muhyi al-Gharib added that the Authority has agreed to join with the customs department and the foreign trade sector in a specialized committee to solve investor problems. It has also extended financial relief to faltering investment projects, especially Europeans, by allowing them to pay their debts in four installments over time.

He emphasized that strong Arab and foreign demand for investing in the free zones has encouraged Egypt to enter a new stage within a framework of integration [similar to that] of the European Common Market.

As to Arab investors, Muhammad al-Sa'udi, manager of the Authority's department of free zones, emphasized that [even though] the Authority has experienced a slowdown of Arab investment in the free zones and in

Egypt generally, there is currently considerable interest from the Arab Gulf from which the Authority has received several applications to invest in manufacturing and assembly projects in the free zones, especially in ready-made clothes and computers.

He explained that the ratio of investment projects approved by the Authority but never implemented was as high as 30 percent of the total, and attributed this high ratio to inaccurate feasibility studies and to attempts by permit-holders to find other investors or venture capitalists for their projects.

On the economic front, he pointed out that the free zones accomplished a trade surplus of \$576 million on imports of \$478 million.

He said that 314 feddans in unoccupied lots await applications by Arab and foreign investors in the free zones of Port Sa'id, Suez, and al-Isma'iliyah. He added that the free zones of Port Sa'id, Alexandria, Nasr City, and Suez encompass 225 investment projects costing \$710 million.

There are 29 projects at the Suez free zone of which 21 are in warehousing and ship supply, four in manufacturing, and four are government enterprises. Investment costs amount to \$63 million.

Economic conditions in the 1982-87 period forced certain projects to suspend operations but those were returned to maximum production after an examination of their problems.

The Suez free zone alone has 73 investment projects of which 26 are in manufacturing, 36 in warehousing, seven in cold storage, and four in service warehousing. Their investment costs are put at some \$185 million of which approximately 49.6 percent is Egyptian capital, 22.3 percent European, 22 percent Arab, and 4.7 percent American.

The Alexandria free zone cost more than \$36 million vis-a-vis 89 projects of which 21 are industrial, 52 are in warehousing, and 16 are private free zone enterprises. The growth and prosperity of free zones in Egypt are making positive contributions to the policies of freeing the Egyptian economy. It is the epitome of freedom, according to Dr. al-Gharib, that investment projects operate within the free zones that function in the mainstream of world markets in a climate of legitimate competition created by the mechanics of those markets.

**Electoral, Media, Administrative Reforms Proposed***91AA0168A Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic  
28 Dec 90 pp 50-51*

[Article by Raja' 'Abdallah: "Politicians Suggest New Form of Political Action"]

[Text] The economy and politics in the modern era are organically connected. It is impossible to have a strong,

free economy, without a free political system, nor that without a similar economy. Therefore, President Husni Mubarak's call to reform the economic process must necessarily be followed by political reform, despite the fact that there is relative democracy in Egypt.

AL-MUSAWWAR has actively sought various proposals and points of view from political powers about the concepts and requirements of this reform. The following is a group of these views.

#### **No to Emergencies; Yes to Terrorism Law**

Yasin Sarraj-al-Din of the Wafd Party says:

"Political reform is a big subject, and has more than one pivotal point, including our need for new legislation, especially in the area of elections and their process. There are also laws whose abrogation we have called for, such as the Emergencies Law, which in fact is not needed. This law's actions should be confined to laws already enacted, except for the subject of terrorism and combatting the spread of narcotics. But these limits should not be exceeded in any form whatsoever, since the stipulations of the Penal Code and criminal legislation cover any other crime. I think that the best thing to do is to enact a law specifically for antiterrorism, in order to criminalize it and make the penalty for it harsher, just as we have increased the penalties of the Narcotics Law.

"I also call for the abrogation of laws that infringe on freedoms, because they have lost their meaning in the stage in which we are now living, no matter what the justification for their enactment in the past. Their existence now has become an obstacle in the way of political reform, i.e., democratic reform.

"The first of these laws, which we demand be abolished, is the Press Law. Freedom to publish newspapers should be granted to every suitable citizen without restrictions or conditions, as used to be done in the past. This only entailed applying for a license to publish the newspaper. If there was no response within 30 days, it was the applicant's right to publish.

"Consideration must also be given to the Law for the Exercise of Political Rights, the Law of Political Parties, and the eventual abolishment of the so-called Political Parties Committee. Citizens should be free to form parties of any group that shares ideas and programs, without any restriction.

"With regard to the Elections Law, my belief is contrary to that of the Wafd Party, which calls for individual elections. I think that elections should be by proportional slates, after changing the 8 percent to 2 percent. I think that this way is more representational for all political and ideological factions and movements. It would avoid wasting millions of votes, because participants in individual elections can end up with no one to represent them. To cite a simple example, one candidate obtains 10,000 votes in a district by the individual method,

while another candidate also gets 10,000 votes, plus one more. The latter is the winner, and the other votes are completely wasted.

"Moreover, proportional elections prevent undesirable elements from sneaking into the Assembly, or rather, harming it, because they won relying on unknown sources of finance, which causes suspicions to encircle them.

"I also call for the abolition of the 50-percent rule for workers and peasants.

"I think that there is another facet to the process of political reform, which directly concerns the parties, both governmental and opposition. We must take another look at their cadres, committees, and organizational structures. We must totally forget about being courteous, and concentrate on action and belief in the love of Egypt; presenting persons who are competent and politically and culturally aware is of itself participation in the reform of political parties."

#### **Amend the Press Law**

Freedom of the press is considered the most important manifestation of democracy in any country of the advanced world. The press' broad powers are a certain guarantee of the citizen's freedom. There is no doubt that the Egyptian press enjoys an area of democracy in which newspapers operate, but that is not enough to keep up with international and domestic developments, which are rapidly heading toward political freedom. Many journalists agree on this point, which caused them to call for a general conference to discuss problems of the press. It in fact began with a preparatory committee to determine points of deficiency in the newspaper profession, and what the press needed in order to become liberated and advance toward true democracy.

Professor Jalal 'Arif, deputy head of the Journalists Union, stated: "Press Law No. 148 for 1980 imposed a number of restrictions on freedom of the press, and on the journalist himself.

"The union has been deprived of its right to govern its membership, and deal with their accounts and affairs, as pertains to business matters. Restrictions have also been placed on publishing newspapers, with broad executive authority having been given to the Supreme Press Council, which permits or prohibits the publication of newspapers. It also has the right to permit or prohibit a journalist from working for foreign newspapers, and it appoints the heads and members of the bureau and general associations.

"Moreover, there is also the Penal Code, which has a full chapter devoted to imposing severe restrictions on journalists and opinion-makers. It penalizes opinions in many instances, both in regard to words and drawings. This is in addition to a group of emergency laws, which restrict freedoms. Under their umbrella, it has become possible to try opinion-makers before State Security

courts (in emergencies) outside of the normal judicial system, in addition to trying "political troublemakers" before the Joint Prosecutor."

### Unemployment and Terrorism

Dr. Fawziyah 'Abd-al-Sattar, head of the Legislative Committee in the People's Assembly (National Party), emphasized that attention must be paid to the economic question and its consequences. She said that there were many laws enacted at other times that could share in changing the economic course, and solving the economic problems. These include the recent investment law, which allows the investor to offer his capital with security and determines for him exemptions and advantages, so that he is encouraged to invest his capital in Egypt, in order to increase production. The law gives the investor many easements, so that it would be impossible to find more anywhere else.

She also recalled the law promulgated by the president, pertaining to secrecy of bank accounts. It encourages increased investment and deposits, which turn into productive projects that share in changing the course of the economy.

Nevertheless, "I believe that there are some laws that need to be restudied, such as the Foreign Currency Law. There are also certain laws that must be thought through—we are currently preparing to do that—which used to be described as socialist. However, they are in fact economic laws, such as countering unemployment.

"Among the laws that must also be looked at are laws that are meant to restore the balance in relations among individuals of the community, whose best interests are in jeopardy, such as the Law of Relationship Between Owner and Tenant, either with regard to dwellings or agricultural land, after the lease in effect now has been upheld."

Regarding laws restricting freedoms, Dr. Fawziyah condemns this description, and says that the Press Law, for example, does not punish a journalist who oversteps its bounds. "Newspapers are filled with criticism and derision of ministers. This is the ultimate freedom. There is no censorship of the press.

"As for emergency laws, they are directed at specific circumstances and are temporary by nature, because of well-known social circumstances. Their existence is important with regard to matters that require rapid and extensive action. However, they are seldom applied. Security of the community requires their existence, and we cannot know what would happen if they were abolished."

Regarding the Law of Political Parties, Dr. Fawziyah says that it must have specific restrictions, in order to control the establishment of parties, so that disorder and conflict in interests do not sweep away society's security. "Every society has various movements, including those

that must not be allowed legitimacy, because they are not in harmony with, and are unsuited for, the existing order in the state."

Professor Farid 'Abd-al-Karim, deputy founder of the Nasserist Party:

"The sole, credible definition applied to man, from Aristotle to today, is that he is a political animal. This is the only description that distinguishes man from the rest of the species. Politics is not governing or opposition, but it is interest in issues of change, and participation in the shaping of life on earth.

"We think that one of the most dangerous political obstacles that confront the citizen in building his society, nation and *Ummah* [Arab, Islamic community as a whole] is those extraordinary and emergency laws that govern him now. Among the most important are those laws that strip away his right to express his views, and to build a political organization that satisfies him, or an association through which he can fulfill his mission. This is the Law of Political Parties and Associations, which restricts and shackles the citizen.

"It is well known that the Egyptian citizen in general does not participate positively in elections, that is, in exercising a political right, which only takes five minutes. Therefore, the result cannot represent the people, who suffer from subjugation in the exercise of political life. Credibility in those five minutes was lost, when the government went in for fraud.

"In order for us to get out of this very dangerous cycle, the Law of Political Parties must be abolished for good. It is not in the best interests of the system for this law to continue in effect. If any political movement cannot exercise its right to have an organization expressly for it, then only one of two things results: it becomes isolated, and we lose a number of citizens; or, it goes underground. At that time, it sees that it has a legitimate right and seizes it. I believe that if every group that espouses violence were allowed a means of expression—in a legal framework—violence would never be used.

"Every party—that is, every political organization—must aim at assuming power some day. Otherwise, there is no justification for its existence. That is the way of democracy. How can a political organization that wants to assume power be established under the aegis of a government that prohibits and permits?

"The existence of political movements, without organizational structure in honest contact with the people, will of itself generate explosive situations, anger and violence, as a result of conflict between those who have the right, and those who have the authority to prohibit that right. If Egypt is headed toward liberalism, it must be the people's right to form political parties without any restriction, except for the restriction of peril, and acceptance of the people's will.

"The citizen's right to establish special associations is also derived from that, so that progress, cooperation and change will occur. If the approval of the state security police is required for their establishment and the continuation of their activities, then government becomes police rule and, therefore, the police will have higher authority than the authority of common law. This is a matter that should be eliminated, and is an obstacle that must be removed.

"Two important rights will result from that; they are the right to assemble, and the right to travel. I made four attempts to establish the Nasserist Party. All of them were rejected, despite the approval of three reports by Council of State ministers. This is unusual arbitrariness. Eight candidates of the Nasserist movement were able to succeed in the recent elections; four won in the first round, and four in the runoff. Despite the fact that the Nasserist movement only presented 12 candidates, eight of them succeeded.

"The two real movements in Egypt are the Nasserist movement and the religious movement. Restrictions must be lifted from them, from their parties and newspapers. As for anything else, it is all spurious. All political powers must know that. There must be honest dealings with the people, without fraud or punishment!"

#### Reconsideration of the Law of Local Government

Lutfi Wahid, a member of the People's Assembly from the Democratic Unionist Party and chairman of the board of the newspaper AL-AHALI, stated that he will present a draft law concerning the current Law of Political Parties. "This law and its provisions must be reconsidered, because it has become an obstacle at certain times to the course of democracy.

"The Law of Local Government should also be reconsidered, and not just for localities, but for local government in its entirety, so that its role and the objectives established for it can be reviewed and democratic practices assisted, as pertains to election laws. Local government in its present form has become a bureaucratic institution, without any democratic substance.

"We also call for increased guarantees with regard to the election law for the People's Assembly, which the opposition has demanded before. These guarantees, such as the need for total judicial supervision, the candidate's "mark" by his name on the tickets, and the strict review of voting lists (to eliminate ineligible voters) in accordance with civil records, all of these guarantees are needed to deepen democracy. We think that demanding this within the People's Assembly is better and stronger than negativism and boycotting elections. One of the most important issues and laws that we are espousing pertains to the economic structure and its reform. We will offer a law pertaining to improving the conditions of workers in the government, state, and public and private sectors. The new law will include raising wages and tying them to the cost of living, increasing the minimum wage, and raising compensations and allowances. It also will

provide for the right of the private sector worker to allowances and to the rest of the prerogatives of government and public sector workers, in terms of allowances and increases. This will be aside from unemployment compensation for those to whom the state does not give employment opportunities. Moreover, a study is currently being made of a draft law pertaining to insurance and pensions, in order to make changes in this field, so that they will be appropriate with regard to the size of deductions from salaries, in order that they keep pace with the major increases in prices.

"The Emergencies Law also needs to be abolished, and the Press Law reconsidered, especially as pertains to ownership of national newspapers, so that national newspapers are owned by the people, and not by only one party or only one quarter. We affirm the right not to have censorship or restrictions on publication. There is one fact that we must stress. Currently there is freedom of the press, but we need also to review the laws of ownership of national newspapers, and the right to publish newspapers.

#### Ministry-Directed Policymaking Seen Key to Stability

91AA0207A Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic  
31 Dec 90 p 18

[Article by Jamal Salim: "Changing the Minister is Unimportant; Policy Continues"]

[Text] I was breathing deeply while listening to President Mubarak's speech, and held my breath at the paragraph in which he said: "There is no minister's policy, only a ministry policy."

Here we have put our finger on the origin of the disease, but surely it will take a surgeon's scalpel to remove it.

The new watchword put forth by President Mubarak is aimed at two parallel plans:

- Each ministry will have a policy and a plan, that is, a philosophy and a program of action within the framework of the community's general policy. This plan requires changing needs, flexibility, and development.
- Each minister, like a conductor, must lead the orchestra in order to carry out the plan, in keeping with the general policy of the ministry and the community.

The maestro might be replaced, but the orchestra remains as it is, and the symphony that they are playing continues as well.

Science might achieve the invention of the electronic guitar for example, and the minister must take this into account. He must not reject replacing the manual guitar with the electronic guitar, on the pretext of adhering to principle, and out of respect for a plan or program. The minister must expedite the replacement process before

he is forced to. On the contrary, he must lead the way. This is the secret of his being chosen for the ministry.

Naturally, we do not believe that ministries will rush to meet with their bureaus, and decide their policy, based on the minister's request. On the contrary, we want these bureaus to absorb President Mubarak's speech very well, to take it as a general policy for each ministry, and to incorporate the details and subordinate planning. The ministry's policy does not mean going into all details of the work, or the most minute cells of the ministry's being. These bureaus must be neutral and honest in their dealings with employees, promotions, and allowances, cleansing and ridding themselves of the dregs of administrative work, with its problems and dirty dealings. They must lift themselves above all this.

In my estimation, the goal of all this is to create an air of stability, under which performance can be improved and uplifted, and a higher degree of productivity and efficiency achieved in services, so that the state ministries and their various bureaus are not affected by changes, and the replacement of ministerial leadership.

We do not want the ministries to achieve all this by the usual method, that is, by means of "business as usual." We want policies and plans debated democratically, because this policy and planning must have the fullest measure of permanency and stability. Change is only acceptable for the better.

A minister of industry—for example—should not be able to come along and say: "We will continue the policy of assembling automobiles, because this will make an excellent profit for us, and this is what we want." Naturally, we would say to this minister: No, you must stop. This policy is unacceptable, because we don't want to be an agent for foreign goods. On the contrary, in five years we want to assemble 25 percent of the vehicle and manufacture 75 percent. After seven years, we want to make the entire car. India, Yugoslavia, and Turkey can produce the Fiat, and export it to us. Despite the fact that in the sixties, we were on the same path, they achieved this and we did not. Why? Because, chairmen of the boards of automobile companies under the public sector became agents for auto import companies. The creation of an Egyptian auto industry would cost them their jobs, privileges, and bank accounts. Why does this happen? Because the Ministry of Industry has no fixed policy, and pursues many projects.

We want to know—for example—what goal would we achieve by assembling the automobiles of others instead of manufacturing the complete car? Must we become agents and brokers for international companies? Therefore, each ministry must have a general policy, a fixed policy which the cabinet discusses, and which the People's Assembly debates, and which the democratic union organizations and the agencies discuss. These discussions will take a long time, but that is better than each minister bringing a policy, and then having it superseded by the minister who comes after him.

### Customs Collects 3 Billion Pounds in 1989-90

91P40163A Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI  
in Arabic 17 Feb 91 p 8

[Report by Amal 'Allam]

[Text] The total amount of customs revenue collected in 1989-90 was 2.909 billion pounds, a 101-million-pound increase over the same period in the previous year.

Fathi Salamah, head of the Customs Authority, announced that the Alexandria District led all other customs districts—which achieved record highs in the amount of customs revenue last year—with 2.009 billion pounds, followed by the Cairo area with 431 million pounds, then by Port Sa'id with 264 million pounds, and the Suez and Red Sea [areas] with 203 million pounds.

Meanwhile, customs exemptions were approximately 20 percent of total 1989-90 income. Uncollected duties due to exemptions reached 600 million pounds.

In reference to customs evasion, Fathi Salamah added that the number of apprehensions from January to December 1990 was 1,108. The Public Central Authority to Counter Evasion [of revenues] in Cairo had the greater share of cases under investigation, numbering 255, followed by the Suez, Red Sea, and Sinai authorities with 243 cases.

Sayyid Durrah, head of the Public Central Authority to Counter Evasion [of revenues] said that seized items were valued at 894 million pounds, with back fees on them to the Customs Authority amounting to 17 million pounds.

Clothing cases were recorded as being the highest in number, 185, followed by liquor cases at 136 and fabric cases at 135.

### Conference Discusses Future of Economy, Politics

91AA0174A London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic  
21 Dec 90 pp 42-43

[Article by Mahmud Salim: "Economic Future Tied to Future of Arab Action, Debt Reduction"]

[Text] For four consecutive days last month, Cairo was a witness to economic discussion from morning to night, concerning an issue of the greatest importance, the management of change in Egypt.

By invitation of a group of graduates of the National Institute for Higher Administration in Egypt, AL-HAWADITH went to one of the halls of the Sheraton Hotel in Alexandria to cover the ideas of economists, administration experts, and a number of representatives from ministries and organizations.

AL-HAWADITH listened, along with nearly 400 company heads and directors from the public, private, and joint sectors, representing the management of those organizations and economic units in Egypt. The talk

revolved around the need for change in light of present circumstances, which have occurred as a result of several international developments, beginning with the changes in the Eastern countries led by the Soviet Union, and ending with the Gulf crisis that erupted on 2 August 1990 with Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

The important matter that must be emphasized here is that the dialogue was exhaustive, with points of view expressed freely and in complete candor. The participants in this discussion are economic thinkers of the highest order, with vast expertise and outstanding ideas.

Perhaps foremost among these gentlemen were Dr. Sa'id al-Najjar, the Egyptian economist, who has held the post of deputy chief of the International Bank; Dr. Sa'd al-Din Ibrahim, professor of social politics at the American University in Cairo; Dr. 'Abd-al-'Aziz Hijazi, former prime minister of Egypt; Dr. Hazim al-Bablawi, chief of the Egyptian Export Development Bank; Dr. Isma'il Sabri 'Abdallah, former minister of planning; Dr. Ibrahim Hilmi 'Abd-al-Rahman, former minister of planning; Dr. Yahya al-Jamal, professor of law at Cairo University; Dr. Fu'ad Hashim, former minister of economy; Dr. Isamah al-Ghazali Harb, director of AL-AHRAM's Center for Political and Strategic Studies; and, Dr. 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Sharbayni, professor of Administration at the University of Alexandria, and an advisor of the Egyptian Cabinet's Information Center.

This economic conference was attended by a number of ministers and officials, for the purpose of answering the participants' questions. They included Dr. 'Atif 'Ubayd, the minister of cabinet affairs; Engineer Muhammad 'Abd-al-Wahhab, the minister of industry; and, Eng. Hasballah al-Kafrawi, the minister of housing, utilities, and new communities, as well as Dr. Muhyi-al-Din al-Gharib, chief of the Executive Agency of the Investment Board, and Dr. Muhammad Hasan Fajj-al-Nur, head of the Finance Exchange. The secretary general of the Association of Egyptian Businessmen, Muhammad Ghanim, also attended.

These and other officials had a date with dialogue about the economic change required in Egypt; AL-HAWADITH covered it throughout the four days.

Let us begin with the Egyptian economic expert, Dr. Sa'id al-Najjar, who talked about the future of Egypt and the Arab nation, and the issue of proposed change. He spoke with a natural fluency.

"The future of growth in Egypt, and the future of Arab action, are very firmly tied together. There is an Arab dimension to growth in Egypt. This is a matter that some have not considered, but I firmly believe that Egypt's economic, cultural, and social future depends to a large extent on establishing an Arab order, in which Egypt would play a strong, positive role, if not a leadership role. I also think that the future of Arab growth depends to a very great extent on Egypt's role, and its relations with all parts of the Arab world.

"Therefore, there is an Arab dimension to growth in Egypt, and an Egyptian dimension to Arab development. Both of them, Egyptian and Arab growth, will lose a great deal unless they are most firmly connected.

"The disastrous Gulf crisis has occurred, but also one of its effects is that the weakness of the Arab order has clearly been exposed. Three basic issues have been laid before the intellectuals and political decision-makers:

- The issue of regional security;
- The issue of democracy in the Arab region; and,
- The relationship between rich and poor Arab countries or, in other words, the Arab economic order that we want to see in the Arab region."

These three issues—as Dr. Sa'id al-Najjar said—"will require all of us in Egypt especially to think deeply and give careful thought to each one of these basic issues that have been unleashed by the Gulf crisis.

"First, with regard to the issue of regional security, since this crisis began, the United States has said that the time has come to think about security arrangements in the region. It is obvious that the United States' thoughts about security arrangements will necessarily have an American imprint, but will not necessarily be the ideal arrangement for Arab interests. America wants to have a direct role in security arrangements, through having friendly nations enter into those security arrangements, under specific assumptions. These nations border on Arab countries—Israel, Iran, Turkey, and Ethiopia. This idea is not in Egypt's best interests. Consequently, Egypt must have a leadership role within the Arab order, and must establish a special relationship and special security arrangements within this order, because the crisis has shown beyond doubt that Egypt has a vital role that must be played in regional security arrangements. At least with regard to the Gulf states, Egypt is the pivotal point. This does not negate the fact that arrangements will be based on friendly and good neighborly relations with the countries adjacent to the Arab region.

"This is my concept of security in the region."

Second, with regard to the issue of democracy, Dr. al-Najjar pointed out that the Gulf crisis has to some extent shown the world that the Arab world is backward as regards democracy and human rights. "These nonprogressive, autocratic regimes have been clothed in the trappings of democracy, but in essence they are autocratic. To some extent, these regimes are responsible for the Arab world's weakness on the international level, and for the loss of Arab moral credibility, because of their disregard for human rights and international law.

"These despotic regimes are responsible for those events that occur from time to time. Perhaps, the most poisonous is Iraq's occupation of a brotherly, Arab nation, Kuwait, and the expulsion of its people. I think that if Iraq had had a democratic regime, this would never have happened.

"Egypt must have a role in securely implanting democracy in the Arab world by being an example and model. This would be its good deed in bringing democracy to all the Arab world.

"There is a great deal of freedom of expression in Egypt, supported by President Husni Mubarak. We say what we want, but what is needed is questioning of the ruler before Parliament. I say that because President Mubarak has an historic role that he must play.

"Abd-Nasir played an historic role in Egypt, even though we might have differed with his means. He left us two important issues: emphasis on Egypt's Arabism, and emphasis on its leadership role. He also put forth the issue of social justice.

"President Sadat played an historic role for Egypt. He began the process of political and economic liberalization in Egypt, the beginning of democracy and the elimination of the police-state system. Sadat has entered history.

"President Husni Mubarak has an historic role that he must play, which is to complete political and economic liberalization in Egypt, and not just in Egypt alone, but also in the Arab world—completion of the liberalizing process in all its facets."

Third, the issue of rich and poor in the region (the Arab economic order in the region).

Dr. Sa'id al-Najjar said that "the elements of the Arab order, in my view, rest on four supports:

"1. The system of development assistance from rich Arab countries to poor Arab countries. Before the Gulf crisis, this system gave undeniable assistance through Arab development funds, such as the Arab Development Fund, through national development organizations, such as the Kuwait, Abu Dhabi, and Saudi funds, and through bilateral assistance from one government to another.

"One of this system's shortcomings was that it was not adequate in terms of resources commensurate with the size of Arab needs. Consequently, this system requires reconsideration in the new Arab economic order, with regard to increasing the capitalization of these funds through allocating a specific part of oil revenues, for example.

"2. Investments, either private, governmental, or by one of these funds. This system is one of the basic Arab economic elements. Its most important shortcoming, however, is that 90 percent or more of investment surplus in the rich countries goes to Western industrial nations, and only a small percentage goes to Arab countries. This is not a shortcoming of the Gulf states, because when the investor tallies his accounts, he finds that investments are better in the West. I would add to that that the poor countries have not made investments interesting to the extent required. Therefore, if we want to develop a system of Arab investments, the Gulf states must first be made aware that these investments should

be going to Arab countries. It should be stressed to them that safety here is as far from stagnant as night and day. The poor countries must create a suitable investment climate.

"3. The issue of transient labor among Arab countries. The Gulf crisis has exposed the weakness of the system that arranges the relocation of labor. Labor should not be exploited as it was before, and workers' rights must not be lost as has happened.

"4. The system of Arab economic integration. This system has gone through two stages: the first during the fifties, which was tantamount to the integration that must occur on the Arab level generally. The second stage was during the eighties, which was expressed in regional groupings, such as the Arab Maghreb, the Gulf Cooperation Council, and the Arab Cooperation Council. In both cases, we have not achieved success!"

Dr. Sa'd-al-Din Ibrahim, professor of social politics at the American University in Cairo, stressed in his talk that "events in Eastern Europe last year, which erupted suddenly in 1989, and the ensuing world developments, of which perhaps the most important were the events of 2 August 1990, represent two huge explosions that are signs of the shift from the old world order which has been dominant since 1945. At the same time, these developments announce the beginning of a new world order.

A quick look at the new world order reveals the expansion of three revolutions: the first is the revolution in the technology of intelligence and information; the second concerns international economic blocs, led by the united Europe of 1992, as well as the American-Canadian bloc, and the Southeast Asia bloc; and, the third revolution is the democratic revolt in Eastern Europe."

Dr. Sa'd-al-Din Ibrahim added that "the world is currently shifting from a balance of 'fear' to a balance of 'interests.' Egypt is capable of being the leader of the new world order in this region."

Dr. Husni Hafiz 'Abd-al-Rahman, an economic expert, and the first undersecretary of the National Investment Bank, referred to certain nations' waiving Egypt's debts, and the decision to draw up economic policies and a national strategy on sound, scientific bases. He said: "The well-considered policies, rational steps, and clear positions, which President Husni Mubarak has pursued in dealing with political and economic issues, have had an effective impact on Egypt's continuing to fulfill its leadership role in the Arab world particularly, and its participation in contemporary issues on the international level in general.

"Undoubtedly, the forgiving of Egypt's debts, estimated at \$6.6 billion, by most of the Arab nations, as well as the United States, which has waived the loans and interest pertaining to the military debt, amounting to \$7 billion, will lead to a reduction of the deficit in Egypt's balance of payments, which increases by \$1 billion annually. This means that interest on loans and obligations, which

was more than 2.5 billion Egyptian pounds in 1989-90, will be reduced by a significant percentage next year.

"However, we must take into account the impact of general mobilization in the Gulf region on the national economy," stated Husayn Hafiz, in the study that he prepared with regard to this topic. "That may lead to a decrease in remittances from workers in the Gulf, because of the loss of most of their savings in both Iraq and Kuwait. Some will send their savings from other Arab countries, but there is no doubt that the percentage of remittances for next year will be lower than for 1989-90. Moreover, tourist revenues will also be impacted to a significant degree, and will decline by no less than 1 billion Egyptian pounds next year, in comparison with 1989-90, when tourist revenues totaled \$2.8 billion.

"In addition, Suez Canal earnings have declined by 25 percent, while prices of imported commodities have risen by not less than 30 percent, because of the increase in oil prices. Furthermore, the costs of finished products are rising, because of the increase in prices of imported materials required for production. This is also being accompanied by increases in prices of various foodstuffs and modern necessities."

Husayn Hafiz went on to say that "it is worth noting that the ratio of the value of Egyptian exports to the value of Egyptian imports is only 23 percent, according to the Egyptian Central Bank's data for 1989-90. Therefore, there is a shortfall in the balance of foreign currencies estimated at approximately 16.2 billion Egyptian pounds for 1989-90."

Dr. Husayn cautioned that "we are still sounding the alarm that if the Egyptian economy is able to meet the shortfall in the balance of payments that occurred in the last three years, by means of relying on foreign loans and grants and foreign cash reserves, then undoubtedly the time will come when these reserves are exhausted. Moreover, loans and grants are dependent on many political factors. It is also impossible for indebtedness to the outside world to continue to increase constantly, in view of the unhealthy effects that might occur as a result of overstepping the limits of indebtedness that are economically allowable.

"The growth process is considered a fundamental pillar to get out of the economic crises through which Egypt passes. That will only be achieved by realistically defining goals in light of Egypt's available resources, and in light of political, economic, and social changes both domestically and abroad.

"One could say generally that Egypt's problems will not be solved by the West or the East, but that Egyptians alone are responsible for getting the national economy out of its crisis."

The views were many, and the ideas outstanding. These points of view, in sum, agreed on the one basic factor: the

value of change. We are now living in the era following the end of the world's division into camps of the West and East.

Dr. Sabri 'Ajlan, the conference's secretary general, summarized the results of the four days of practical discussions concerning the management of change in Egyptian society: "We are now living in the post-Cold War era. We are now living in the post-Industrial Revolution era, the era of the technology and information revolution, an era dominated by the spirit of international awareness, leading toward complete integration and the formation of large economic and trade blocs."

At the conclusion of their meeting, the economic and administration experts agreed that the impetus for the hoped-for change must depend on defined basics and priorities. Some of the most important include:

- Concentrate investment in local industries for export, in order to bolster the national economy vis-a-vis the international economy, with its existing and future blocs;
- Liberalize the labor sector and give it incentives to produce, in accordance with the principle of reciprocity, without consideration of whether it is publicly or privately owned;
- Increase the establishment of new communities, with their agricultural and industrial collectives, in order to absorb the continuous increase in population and work force, in addition to reducing the population congestion inside the Nile Valley;
- Develop the public sector, and free it from all restrictions, along with reorganizing it into holding companies, with a decreased role for monitoring agencies, without abolishing them;
- Encourage popular participation by citizens on the local level, especially in funding and managing various projects, along with giving the elected people's councils more authority and power;
- Broaden the issuance and submission of multi-advantageous bonds and financial and investment instruments for citizens, so that they may share in the funding of major projects, and thus lessen the burden on the state's general budget; and,
- Transfer and sale of certain state-owned units to the private sector, which would insure the provision of required funding for certain government projects, and raise the productivity efficiency of the investment.

These were the recommendations of economic and administration experts in Egypt concerning managing change in Egyptian society. This proposed change—as they said—would mean stability and progress in an Egypt filled with challenges.

#### **Writer Suggests Four Freedoms to Liberalize Economy**

*91AA0174B London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
2 Jan 91 p 3*

[Editorial by Mustafa Amin: "An Idea"]

[Text] Political liberalization in Egypt must accompany economic liberalization. We cannot take the chains off

the economy, while maintaining political restrictions. Otherwise, reform will be crippled, and limping will hinder our progress.

Liberalizing the economy requires liberalizing the constitution, including the restrictions and shackles that cause our steps to be slow and halting, incapable of keeping pace with the progress of time. Therefore, committees must immediately be formed to draw up ideas for the political change that is desired by the *Ummah* [Islamic community as a whole]. Change requires new persons, as well as basic changes in the constitution, so that its powers, which were wrested from the people, are restored to the people. The people should be—in word and deed—the source of power.

We cannot liberalize the economy while Parliament is forbidden to amend the budget, nor allowed to refuse funds for which it sees no justification, or deems extravagant, or which refuses to incur debts. We cannot liberalize the economy when the Advisory Council meets and makes decisions, but no one implements those decisions, because of being afraid of sparrows and frightened by vultures. One should not applaud this, for it is a characteristic that no one in this country enjoys.

We cannot liberalize the economy when the majority of newspapers are nationalized, and their editors appointed and fired by government order. A free economy needs a free press and writers who are not under restrictions or pressure. We cannot liberalize the economy while television is muzzled and radio silenced. Therefore, in order to liberalize the economy, the starting point must be accompanied by abolishing nationalization of newspapers and freeing television and radio from state control.

Economic liberalization cannot be by decree; rather—firstly—it requires a free atmosphere, fresh air and open doors, and total freedom. The economy will remain imprisoned so long as we have the Emergencies Law, which allows a citizen to be put in jail without a judicial trial, and which puts matters under the control of one party without a partner or counterpart. If we want to strengthen the government's party, we must help to strengthen the opposition parties. Whatever weakens the opposition also weakens the government.

Liberalizing the economy requires political liberalization.

## IRAQ

### Saddam Husayn's Atomic Bunker

91AE0174A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA  
in Russian 5 Dec 90 p 15

[Article: "Saddam Husayn's Atomic Bunker"]

[Text] Even if the whole world is destroyed, Saddam Husayn intends not only to survive, but actually to

ensure that he continues to live in his accustomed luxury. The German magazine QUICK has reported in detail on the steps prudently taken by this dictator eight years ago.

Imagine this: plumes of smoke billow slowly above the Tigris River. All that remains of the once impressive presidential palace—eloquent testimony to the "good life" enjoyed by its owner—are its foundations. Fig palms in groves around the palace have been felled as if by a mighty hand, shorn off almost at ground level. Great fires rage in the distance. The seal of death is on everything.

Then a three-ton steel door slowly swings open with a slight squeak, and from it unhurriedly steps out leader Saddam Husayn, surrounded by his staff...

All this could become a reality after the conclusion of a quite possible war between Iraq and the rest of the world. All around chaos, death and destruction, and Saddam Husayn alive and well.

Alive thanks solely to the existence of his "super bunker." Eight years ago the "Arab Stalin," as he likes to call himself, contracted with the Augsburg (FRG) construction firm Boswau and Knauer to build the best underground facility in the world beneath his palace.

All the work has been shrouded in complete secrecy from the start right up to the present day. The work has been done under the code name "Project 305"; no other indication of its nature was given. All the main participants knew what this code name concealed, and therefore they prefer to keep quiet about it even today.

Saddam's underground headquarters covers a total of 1,800 square meters, and its outer walls are up to two meters thick. If an atomic bomb similar to the one which destroyed Hiroshima exploded at a distance of just 250 meters, the Iraqi despot would survive.

Not only he and his closest relatives, but also a whole regiment of servants could comfortably survive the demise of Baghdad in the compartments of this shelter, well protected from the outside world. Saddam's family consists of his wife, two sons aged 27 and 25, and three daughters aged 24, 19, and 16, plus sons-in-law, fiancées, and grandchildren. This clan, originally from the village of Tikrit north of Baghdad, is powerful and power-hungry. Sometimes this reaches the point of intrafamily conflicts. For example, the dictator's son Udayy's murder of his father's bodyguard and friend could be termed sort of a bloody joke...

The surroundings in Saddam's living quarters could make one forget that this is a bunker. The concrete floors are covered with thick carpets and the walls are covered with wood paneling.

Even in case of a siege Saddam Husayn prefers to freshen up in a comfortable bathtub with a shower massager. In the huge bedroom for himself and his wife he can

luxuriate under an elegant draped canopy. The command center resembles a video viewing room, and also contains cabinets containing military maps.

The luxurious and highly original interior design of the bunker was also created by a German firm from Munich. The firm's employees, like all the others who took part in this construction job, prefer not to talk about it. Saddam Husayn's suppliers have good reason to fear the long arm of Iraq. Furthermore, according to a member of the Boswau board of directors, the construction work is not yet fully paid for. If anyone talks too much the several millions remaining to be paid will be lost. It seems that what began as purely commercial dealings between an aggressive Iraq and its German partners have now become part of a fateful intertwining of destinies.

1. Elevator leading to palace guest quarters
2. Dictator's room
3. Bathtub with adjustable whirlpool jets
4. Cloakroom with shockproof cabinets
5. Bedroom with luxurious canopy bed
6. Second bedroom with circular bed
7. Reception room; guards stationed here
8. Bathroom with solarium
9. Children's pool
10. Children's room; bedroom of Husayn's younger children
11. Expansive bathroom with luxurious decoration and shower massager
12. Command center, with cabinets holding maps

#### **Israeli Defense Publication Profiles Generals**

91AE0256A Tel Aviv BAMAHAHE in Hebrew 2 Jan 91  
pp 26-27,29

[Article by Arye Hashbayah]

[text] Keeping up with the events in a dictatorial regime is similar, as a rule, to trying to solve a detective story puzzler. Crumbs of information scattered all along the writing of the riddle; hints hidden between the lines; the solution composed of strings of facts, guesses, and hypotheses. This is the case regarding the events in Iraq as well. Since the crisis broke out in the Persian Gulf on August 2, 1990, there has been an acceleration of the seeding of rumors concerning bloody purges carried out by Saddam at the highest echelons of his army. But, as with the previous waves of rumors, which accompanied the eight years of the Iraq-Iran war, now too, the sources of information are indirect and not always credible. We are speaking of foreign diplomats serving in Baghdad; Kurdish opposition circles whose men are scattered through the country opening their ears and eyes and

smuggling out reports; and also the Syrian intelligence, whose reports on the events in Iraq, intelligence sources in the West tend to respect. Syria is, as is well known, Iraq's historic rival, even though both are ruled by a nationalist-socialist party bearing the name Ba'th.

In mid-November, a photograph was published in an Iraqi military newspaper, showing a general distributing diplomas to graduates of an officers' training school. The caption of the picture did not include the name of the general, but he was not Lieutenant General Abdul Karrim Nizar Khazraji, who had been Iraqi chief of staff up to that time. "This is an indirect way to report changes in the highest echelons of the army in a totalitarian state," points out Laurie Mylroie, a researcher at the Center for Middle East Studies at Harvard University, who has recently written a book called "Saddam Husayn and the Crisis in the Gulf" (Times Books/Random House.) Since the end of September, writes Mylroie in the Wall Street Journal, Kuwaiti journalists had reported on a dispute between Nizar and Saddam. The ruler of Iraq was angry with his chief of staff because he had not succeeded in detaining the top three members of the Kuwaiti royal family during the invasion of the Emirate. As a result of this, the three had succeeded in escaping to the West and forming a government-in-exile there.

#### **"To the Wall"**

According to a Syrian intelligence report, which was leaked (intentionally, of course) to the Syrian press, Nizar was executed together with seven other officers, who were suspected of conspiring against Saddam Husayn. They reportedly opposed his invasion of Kuwait and the holding of the Western hostages. According to the official Syrian daily, al-Thawrah, which based its words on sources close to the Iraqi army, Khazraji was actually shot to death at Saddam's order. The official Syrian information agency reported from travelers who had arrived in Cyprus from Iraq, that after the dismissal of Khazraji, 18 other officers had been arrested, among them Major General Sabah Sabri. Baghdad itself did not announce the liquidation of the chief of staff, but the Iraqi daily, Al Qadisiyah, published a news item about the removal of Nizar, without adding an explanation of the item.

According to Mahdi Zabari, an exiled Kurdish leader, Khazraji was dismissed on the 8th of November. The same source reported that the Iraqi minister of defense, Lieutenant General Abd-al-Jabbar (whose official title, which sounds more distinguished, was Minister for Military Affairs) had been dismissed before this. The Revolution Command Council (RCC) which rules Iraq confirmed the "resignation" of the 70 year old Shanshal. The official reason was - illness. The Associated Press news service pointed out that, to begin with, Shanshal had received the defense portfolio, at the end of 1989, for a year only. But, the Kurdish source claims, Khazraji and Shanshal were dismissed because they did not report precisely to Saddam concerning the rising ferment among senior officers, against Saddam's policy in Kuwait.

The common punishment for expressing opposition to Saddam Husayn is death. The Associated Press news service commented in an item on the present round of purges in the Iraqi army, that during the Iraq-Iran war, officers who became too popular or who did not follow Saddam's orders exactly were "purged." Several senior officers were executed, as well as 40 less senior officers who were suspected of attempting to revolt.

Reports of purges in the upper ranks of the Iraqi army, coming from the leadership in exile of the Kurdish party, win serious attention in the West. In the estimation of American intelligence, information from the Kurdish opposition on what is happening in the upper echelons of the Iraqi regime has generally been reliable until now. Diplomats serving in Baghdad confirmed, in September, that at least six senior officers from the Iraqi army had been put to death because they had opposed the invasion of Kuwait, and that a large number of senior officers had not been seen for weeks. Among the names mentioned in this context was that of Lieutenant General Natiq Shakir, commander of the 5th Corps, deployed in northern Iraq, who was replaced by General Sa'd Sham al-Din Tikriti, a native of Tikrit, Saddam Husayn's home town in northern Iraq.

#### Closeness Does Not Help

The Natiq Shakir who was dismissed is the brother of Sad'un Shakir, who resigned from the RCC on the 19th of September. An official Iraqi announcement reported at the time that the 51 year old Shahr had resigned for reasons of health. He was said to be suffering from cancer. The Kurdish sources claim that he was dismissed. Shakir had been among those close to Saddam ever since they were in prison together after the 1st Ba'th regime in Iraq was overthrown (in 1963). He had been a member of the RCC since 1977. This old comradeship did not help him in the long run.

According to the same sources, Lieutenant-General Rashash Al-Amara, who commanded the southern front in the war against Iran, was forced to move up his retirement from the army, along with 12 other officers, ranking between colonel and general. Lieutenant-General Tabit Sultan, who was commander of the 2d corps and served as a member of the Iraqi general staff, was executed together with five other senior officers on suspicion of conspiring against the regime.

In place of Nizar, who was portrayed as a hero during the Iraq-Iran war - although American intelligence appraisals claim that he was not an outstanding officer, was appointed his second-in-command, General Husayn Rashid, who had been head of the operations branch at general headquarters until then, and who had commanded the Republican Guard (the Presidential Guard)—an elite unit in the Iraqi army—for a year. Rashid had been decorated by Saddam, who, in July, 1987, had appointed him commander of the First Corps, deployed in northern Iraq. Rashid is described by Laurie Mylroie as "a Kurd who was directly involved in the

chemical attack against his Kurdish brethren in the village of Halabja." In the opinion of American intelligence, he is thought to be an excellent officer. He also comes from Tikrit. This appointment strengthens the circle of those close to Saddam, composed mainly of family members and trusted friends from Tikrit.

Since Saddam Husayn seized power in 1979, the army has been thought of as both his only power base and as his major potential rival. In order to rule over the army and the state, Saddam uses a twofold terror: on the one hand, he employs, in the streets of the state, the terroristic security service, the Mukhabarat, which according to Amnesty and other sources, conducts its investigations with terrible torture. Their aim: to obtain information and to sow fear. On the other hand, Saddam carries out waves of purges at the top.

The tempo of the purges slowed down when the cycle of the war turned against Iraq, in the war with Iran, but immediately after the war ended, the "Butcher of Baghdad" returned to his old ways. Between December of 1988 and March of 1989 the arrest of hundreds of officers was revealed. According to Laurie Mylroie, many of them were put to death.

Khazraji's predecessor as commander in chief of the Iraqi army, Lieutenant General Jawad Dhanun, was dismissed during the period of severe crisis in the war against Iran, the offensive of 1987. In July of 1989, reports filtered out of Iraq about Jawad's arrest, together with that of two other senior officers.

#### "Bravo! Spoken With Courage!"

An example of Saddam Husayn's "method" can be found in his dismissal of the Iraqi oil minister, Isam Jalabi, in November. Iraq suffers from a shortage of key additives necessary for refining gasoline and jet fuel. After the international embargo was imposed on Iraq, the Iraqi air force was forced to reduce its training program in order to conserve fuel. On the 19th of October, plans for fuel rationing were announced. Four days after the rationing was begun—it was stopped because the public complained and Saddam feared riots. An official government announcement said that Jalabi had not correctly estimated the amount of additives at Iraq's disposal. Actually, that announcement said, Iraq could supply all its needs in this area. Brigadier General Husayn Kamil, who is both the cousin and the son-in-law of Saddam Husayn, was appointed oil minister in Jalabi's place.

Observers attach great importance to the fact that Iraq has no real minister of defence. 'Adnan Khayrallah (also a cousin and son-in-law of Saddam Husayn), who held the defense portfolio for a long time, died last year in "a mysterious helicopter crash," following a family quarrel which erupted after Saddam took a second wife," according to Mylroie. General Abd-al-Jabbar who was the commander in chief from 1970 to 1988, when he was promoted and dubbed "Minister for Military Affairs," received the defense portfolio. About Khayrallah it is

said, that he was permitted to tell Saddam when he believed he was wrong. Shanshal, in contrast to him, had a deathly fear of Saddam. An Egyptian diplomat related that in a meeting arranged in Baghdad between the upper ranks of the Iraqi regime and an Egyptian delegation, General Shanshal took eyeglasses out of his pocket. Saddam remarked—perhaps jokingly—"I did not know my officers wore eyeglasses." Until the discussion ended, Shanshal's eyeglasses remained in his hand, on the way to his eyes.

Shanshal's lot was better than that of another minister in Saddam Husayn's government. When the minister of health, Riyadh Ibrahim, criticized the way Saddam Husayn conducted the war against Iran, the dictator said to him, "Bravo, you've spoken with courage!"—and according to the respected German journal, *Der Spiegel*, came up to the courageous minister, pulled out a pistol and shot him in the forehead point blank.

Western commentators estimate that dread is rising in the top ranks of the Iraqi army in the face of Saddam's decision to deploy more than half a million troops—half of the Iraqi army—in Kuwait and its vicinity.

Anxiety is spreading in the ranks of the Iraqi army as well. Dozens of Iraqi deserters have crossed over to Turkey, where they are held in special camps near the border. Deserting officers have been brought to the capital. The president of Turkey, Turgut Ozal, made mention of the phenomenon of the desertions in a lecture he gave before the Merchant's Association at the beginning of the month. According to the independent daily, *Hurriyet*, published in Istanbul, officials of the government confirmed that Iraqi deserters had requested political asylum in Turkey, but refused to specify their numbers, or to supply further details.

Officials in the border villages Sirnak and Hakari said that according to the deserters, hundreds of their comrades in the army are interested in deserting, but are afraid because anyone who is caught—is immediately executed. Commentators in the West see in the desertion an expression of weakened morale in the Iraqi army, which only a short time ago finished a bloody war, lasting eight years, against Iran.

In the changes of personnel in the Iraqi upper ranks, since August this year, Western observers see an effort on the side of Saddam Husayn to tighten his inner circle and to distance from his ranks anyone who, in his eyes, seems less loyal and tending to criticize. At the same time, Saddam attempts to pacify the army. Western diplomats in Bagdad relate, that the army receives more food, relatively, than the general public—and Baghdad receives, relatively, more commodities than other settlements in the state. But Saddam Husayn cannot curb the worsening shortage and the inflation of necessary goods by hundreds of percentage points caused by the shortage. Since he cannot persuade his people with a carrot, he swings a stick. According to *Der Spiegel*, the Iraqi prisons are full of political prisoners. The infamous

members of the Mukhabarat work overtime torturing people being investigated. The Amnesty International organization has reported that Saddam's investigators torture their victims with 30 different kinds of torture. Alongside electric shock and blows, they pluck out eyes, torture children before the eyes of their parents, and rape women and girls until they die, before the eyes of their families. The American organization for the protection of human rights, Middle East Watch, wrote recently that "Iraq is a police state...its government is among the most violent and oppressive ruling today."

What will turn the scales in Baghdad? Mass resentment and strengthening opposition in the top ranks of the army and government, or the terror which Saddam Husayn imposes around himself? Laurie Mylroie comments that in Iraq it is customary to say that a reign of terror frustrates in advance all hope of revolt. But the overthrow of Nicolae Ceausescu in Romania proved that one can never know the breaking point of a ruthless tyrant.

#### Expatriate Islamic Leader Discusses Future

91AE0258A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
1 Feb 91 p 5

[Article by Ibrahim Nawwar: "The Resistance Takes Immediate Steps to Hold a National Conference for the Salvation of Iraq; Saddam Will Never Withdraw from Kuwait, Despite the Call for a Cease Fire"]

[Text] The Fighting Islamic Scholars' Group in Iraq has a long history. The group is an extension in another form of the Islamic Scholars' Group that was formed in Iraq in the late 1950's. Although its methods and structure differ from those of the mother organization, it still has the same goals and follows the same course, which is to continue the struggle, disseminate information, and provide leadership for the masses from nearby locations.

Mr. Hasan al-Musawi is a member of the Fighting Islamic Scholars' Group and embodies the attributes of this group: mixing religion with politics and mixing thinking with action in a simple format. This is combined with an understanding of Iraq in all its particulars, with its diverse social, national, religious, and political formations. Along with the responsibilities that Mr. al-Musawi bears as a member of the advisory board of the scholars' group, he is at the same time a representative of the group in the United Kingdom and Europe.

Mr. al-Musawi studied under the martyred Mr. Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr and was his representative in some Iraqi cities. The Iraqi regime arrested Mr. al-Musawi along with a large group of fighters, of whom five were executed, and sentenced him to twenty years in prison; however, he did not spend the entire term of his sentence in Iraqi prisons. Al-Musawi joined in leading military operations against the Iraqi regime across the Iranian border, at a time when Iran was permitting this.

Then, some time ago, al-Musawi moved to London as a representative for the Fighting Islamic Scholars' Group in Europe.

The Fighting Islamic Scholars' Group is one of the signatories to the joint working agreement among the branches of the Iraqi resistance (Damascus, on the 27th of the past month). The person who signed the agreement for the group was Hujjat al-Islam [title of a high-ranking Islamic scholar] Mr. Hasan al-Nuri. There is a great deal of overlap between the group and the Islamic al-Da'wa Party, the largest of the Iraqi opposition parties. One manifestation of this overlap is that Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi al-Asafi, the official spokesperson for the al-Da'wa Party, is a member of the Islamic Scholars' Group's administrative board, which is made up of five people. The group carries out important informative and educational activities among Iraqis who have emigrated to Iran and among Arabic-speaking Iranians. It also disseminates information in the countries of east Africa and others. It depends on its own sources of funding.

#### The Identity of Iraq

Mr. Hasan al-Musawi says that the Fighting Islamic Scholars' Group sees the future of Iraq from a perspective that emphasizes the need to preserve Iraq's distinctive identity and personality. "Iraq has attributes that distinguish it from the other countries of the region. It is a country of many nationalities and many religions and religious sects, and it has an Arab and Islamic role in history. These and other attributes must be taken into account when we draw up a picture of the future."

Before proceeding to a discussion of Iraq's future and the role of the Islamic scholars in it, we had to examine the call for a cease-fire in the Gulf, based on a withdrawal of Saddam's forces from Kuwait. Mr. al-Musawi said, "This call is good and is based on a logical condition, that is, that Saddam make a public announcement of his pledge to withdraw from Kuwait. But all of the facts indicate that Saddam has become mired in his crime to such an extent that it is difficult to imagine him making a commitment to withdraw from Kuwait. Saddam is now defending his presence at the head of the government; like any dictator, he would not care if all of his people died so long as this would prolong his rule for a few weeks.

"The goal of the allied countries now is to expel Saddam from Kuwait, whereas the goal of the Iraqi opposition is to bring about the fall of Saddam Husayn. This indicates that there is a certain amount of overlap between the goals of the two parties. But the divergence in their goals brings up a question about the role of the powers that will decide what the future of Iraq will be. How will these powers be able to take those distinctive attributes into consideration when they think about making the transition from the current situation to a more stable situation?

"In reality, there are at present three powers that are playing an active role in deciding the future of Iraq. Two powers play a prominent role in current events: the regional Arab and Islamic forces and the western international forces. But the third power is still absent: the power of the Iraqi people's own will. This last power must be the conclusive one in deciding the shape of Iraq's future.

"The regional Arab and Islamic forces are moving in accord with the logic of their interests in order to consolidate security, prevent a repetition of this tragedy, equip the existing borders between countries with all the advantages of security, and put an end to all alarming influences that any new regime coming after Saddam's might bring to bear. This logic is both reasonable and acceptable if it does not overlook the connection between all of these requirements and the free will of the Iraqi people. It is necessary to maintain goodwill and brotherhood among the peoples of the region.

"The international forces that are now set to take part in drawing up Iraq's future act on the basis of economic and security interests. To safeguard these interests within a just framework, these forces must take the interests of the Iraqi people into consideration. They must now establish a line of communication between the two sides, in preparation for the post-Saddam era." Mr. Musawi said, "In my view, it is not in anyone's interest to destroy the will of the Iraqi people, nor their institutions, nor the fruits of their labor for many decades. No one objects to striking military targets or to the overthrow of the regime, but if the strikes spread to civilian targets and economic institutions, then the Iraqi people will be the victims. Because the Iraqi people will have to rebuild these, and this will consume vast energies which could be saved for moving the country ahead and raising the standard of living, if the world could avoid inflicting these losses."

Mr. al-Musawi continued, "The demographic structure, the differences among the nationalities in Iraq, and the multiplicity of religious sects are all factors that must be taken into account as long as the situation is not 100

in the hands of Iraqi national forces, [as it is not] at the present time, as a consequence of the influence of regional and international interests in Iraq. If these factors are not taken into account, then Iraq will be exposed to serious dangers."

#### Partition and Mandatory Rule

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] What are these dangers?

[Al-Musawi] There is, first of all, the danger of partition. This is not in the interest of Iraq's neighbors, whether Arab or Muslim. The Iraqi people will not stand by idly when confronting a brother or a friend if there were any attempt to divide Iraq. Second, there is the "danger of mandatory rule" [quotation marks as published]. This danger will arise if the present war leads to the destruction of Iraq and the paralysis of its capabilities. At that

point it will be said that it is necessary to impose a guardianship on Iraq, on the pretext that the Iraqi people are in need of assistance or need a protector. Despite the fact that the political form of the mandate ended earlier in history, this history itself has proved that the Iraqi people are able to confront a mandate and defeat it. The Iraqi revolt of 1920 was no less that a revolt against the mandate, and this revolt did not subside until it had defeated the force of the occupation and the mandate." Mr. al-Musawi said, "We are confronting these two dangers and are demanding freedom for the people to choose the regime that they want."

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] But the presence of the allied forces in the Gulf and the fighting that is going on now does not aim to impose a mandatory rule on Iraq nor to divide its lands.

[Al-Musawi] We know that. We are against Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and the claims, which Saddam Husayn repeats over and over, that Iraq has a historical right to Kuwait. They are just a cover for the personal aims and the aggressive intentions plotted by Saddam Husayn against the Kuwaiti people. We are for the liberation of Kuwait and favor the idea that unity among peoples in the future should be made by those peoples, not imposed by some ruler. We are for the overthrow of Saddam's regime and want there to be security for all the peoples and states of the Gulf. The Iraqi people do not oppose strikes against Saddam Husayn's military force, which he uses not only to launch a war against the neighboring states but also to subjugate the Iraqi people themselves and to commit massacres against them. The Iraqi people have suffered greatly, and for that reason we do not want them to suffer still more for the purpose of striking at Saddam. There is no disagreement among the branches of the Iraqi opposition, from the far right to the far left, that it is necessary to protect the energies of Iraq from destruction as much as is possible. Iraq is the greatest common concern that unites us. We do not want those who will come after Saddam to inherit destruction and ruin, because it is the people, in any event, who will pay the price. We do not believe that those who want to rid the Iraqi people of Saddam will find it acceptable to compound their tragedy by doing this.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] At the present time the Iraqi opposition appears to be fighting for a chance to play a prominent role in the events that will shape the future of Iraq. What grounds are there for the success of this role, and how can it continue?

[Al-Musawi] The achievement of a joint working agreement in Damascus represents a substantive transition for the role of the Iraqi opposition. Now we have parties and groups that have approved the grounds for joint action, in accord with the Damascus agreement. In my view, the most important factors that ensure the continuation and expansion of the role played by the Iraqi opposition

parties and forces are represented by their agreement on the following principles:

- Respect for pluralism;
- A peaceful transfer of office from one faction to another;
- Respect for freedom of opinion and of the opinions of others;
- Rejection of the use of force, misleading strategies, or deception when appealing to public opinion.

Saddam has harmed all Iraqi political factions and has committed every kind of crime against the rights of the Iraqi people. Thus it is not surprising that these factions should agree now on one goal, and that is the overthrow of Saddam and ridding the Iraqi people of his regime.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Would you accept the participation of Ba'thists in the government, and would you permit them to carry out political activities during the post-Saddam phase?

[Al-Musawi] First of all, we should say that we will accept the judgment of the Iraqi people about all the political factions that today say that they oppose Saddam. If there were free elections and the Ba'thists were elected to a representative legislative body, we would not object to that. Rather, we would reproach ourselves for not having adequately exposed to the people the crimes committed by the Ba'thists against Iraq. When I say Ba'thists I am not referring to something like 90 percent of them, the helpless people who joined the party because they were compelled to do so, in order to obtain employment or housing or admission to the university, for example. Those people aside, it was only 10 percent of the Ba'th who joined the gangs that were part of the security apparatus and the assassination squads. Only the [Iraqi] people themselves should decide their fate.

#### A Broader Framework

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] What do you think is the opposition's next step, after the Damascus agreement, for mobilizing the will of the Iraqi people to overthrow Saddam?

[Al-Musawi] I think that the Damascus agreement provides a good framework for joint action by the opposition forces, but unfortunately this agreement does not make provisions for all of the forces working against Saddam, especially the independent Iraqi opposition, whether individuals or groups, that did not take part in the signing of the Damascus agreement. We are working side by side with all of the Iraqi opposition forces to convene a national conference for the Iraqi opposition. The conference will be the equivalent of a broader working framework which will not surpass the Damascus agreement but will strengthen and reinforce it. It has been agreed that the signatories to the Damascus agreement will take part in the national conference through their representatives and that the secretariat of the conference will include representatives of independent persons and independent political groups.

Mr. Husayn al-Musawi emphasized that "numerous quick meetings have been held and are being held in

Damascus, Tehran, and London for the purpose of agreeing on the next step to be taken by the opposition. The outcome of these meetings has been a consensus that we must work quickly to convene a national conference for the salvation of Iraq, in order to discuss two fundamental points: what should we do, and what can we do, in the domains of foreign policy and domestic, public affairs in Iraq? The need for speed in holding this conference stems from the fact that the opposition must aim to protect the people from the dangers of an all-out destructive war, a war which Saddam neither considers serious nor worries about, although he bears responsibility for starting it.

"The national conference for the salvation of Iraq will be a starting point, where concepts about the war that is going on now and ideas about how to end it with the least possible losses can be formulated. Also, the conference will be an opportunity for agreeing on a number of proposed steps for the post-Saddam period in Iraq."

Mr. Husayn al-Musawi emphasized that "the main principles, about which there is no disagreement, are respect for pluralism, freedom of opinion, and the right of the Iraqi people to choose the future that they want. Whatever the people choose, everyone must respect this choice, even if it disagrees with the ambitions of some."

### Future Without Saddam Discussed

#### Journalist Discusses Future Ideological Context

91AE0279A London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic  
20 Feb 91 pp 14-15

[Article by Hasan al-'Alawi, ex-Confidant of President Saddam Husayn: "Vision of Post-Saddam Phase; Saddam's Departure or Percy Cox's Fall"]

[Text] An Arab ex-minister has asked me about the most serious aspect of Saddam Husayn's policy.

I responded: The post-Saddam phase. I inserted my answer in a lengthy article which was published by an Arab newspaper eight years ago.

Last month, French Journalist (Michel Touriaque) asked me the same question and published the answer in the Parisian (LE BOINE).

One morning last week, Claude (Lorio) revisited the same question in (LE FIGARO) and I revisited the same question before AL-MAJALLAH asked the same question to which it seems to have allocated a special edition.

I do not deny that my answer could cause a sudden shock to the mind of the Arab reader who will then settle down with the following conviction:

Then let Saddam stay.

Between staying or not staying, caravans of despair, hope, frustration, and daring will speed by without

having much effect on the harmonious lines of the image that I sense closely, relying on the following facts:

Saddam's psychological makeup makes me inclined to believe that he is the type of man who will not leave something beneficial to whomever succeeds him.

I have repeatedly heard him criticize Shah Reza Pahlavi for leaving Imam Khomeini a prosperous state with all its institutions. I still keep in my private diary a program submitted by the Iraqi president on what the shah should have done. It is a scheme that would provoke terror in words themselves.

It seems logical that Saddam Husayn will be careful on what he considers a big mistake made by the shah. But this is not all that the Iraqi president has prepared for the phase or the administration that will succeed him.

This phase may reveal in documents that which exposes the Iraqi social, not moral, homogeneity to real danger. There are wives who, as public security agents, work against their husbands and children who tape their parents' conversations for the government. The residues of the principle of "killing with the clan's bullets" and this principle's subsequent effects on the social structure will crystallize. One cousin is assigned to shoot another cousin tied to an execution post and a father is rewarded for shooting his son who refuses to be pressed into the war against Iran.

It will become obvious that the policy of "using one against one's own kind" will create deep splits within the political structure of the Iraqi factions and parties. The government program has employed Kurd against Kurd, communist against communist, one al-Najaf citizen against another, clansman against clansman, and even Ba'thist against Ba'thist.

The current regime in Baghdad has planned not only for the current phase but also for the coming phases by creating centers of political, social, and economic tension. If the tension center which Saddam Husayn had considered focal and which is embodied in transforming the Arab-Israeli conflict into an Arab-Persian conflict within the Muslim bloc has failed, then Saddam's followers who benefit from this fabricated conflict will continue to hover around this center in order to create a margin of legitimacy for their continued presence or their participation in the fundamental positions of power. In an attempt to harm the Arab majority in Iraq, these followers will also continue to try to slander those who did not contribute to intensifying this conflict.

On the other hand, the scheme to annihilate the Kurdish population according to an ethnic criterion and the scheme to undermine the qualitative importance of the Arab majority according to a sectarian criterion will create a major gap that will be difficult to bridge in the political conscience of the Iraqi people.

Saddam Husayn's regime is a security and political precedent. I don't think that Saddam's successors, regardless of how well-intentioned, will get rid of this precedent.

The domestic espionage network, the suppression agencies, the external network spying on Iraqis, and a society transformed into followers of a secret organization controlled by the man in power will make the alternative ruler extremely eager to maintain what he views as excellent instruments to run the state. This alternative ruler may offer a (national) justification in accordance with which the suppression agencies turn into agencies protecting the new national rule.

The presidential rites that Saddam Husayn has used may perhaps turn into presidential traditions.

Embroidering the Iraqi army as a good executor of Saddam Husayn's schemes for external destruction the way the experienced police agencies are employed in domestic suppression will give public opinion the impression that the army is a fundamental partner in governmental violations whereas throughout its long history, the army had not previously been a party to or an instrument of governmental suppression and annihilation.

It would be difficult for the Iraqi military to walk down the street with head held high if Saddam Husayn ends by virtue of the invasion and not as a result of a military movement that supports the Iraqi people's struggle and settles the struggle against the government in favor of the people.

The Iraqi army's agreement to obey the will of a civilian general, to launch two Gulf wars, one on the Persian shoreline and one on the Arab shoreline, and to be the obedient instrument in both wars will be recorded in the registers of disgust and contempt for the military establishment that has failed to lead itself and defend its traditions, at least.

The Iraqi military has succumbed to personal privileges that have been given as more of a bribe than an act of appreciation and esteem. They have thus forgotten their victims and their values.

An active member of the secret organization is an active member of the death organization, regardless of whether he is a cabinet minister or a doorman, a university professor or a student!

The death network is extensive and its diplomatic offices are even more extensive! Where would the new alternative send the "old" death network? I have pointed out here my belief that the alternative will embrace the old agency tenderly. But by necessity, one oppressor will be separated from another and one murderer separated from another according to the lineage and descent of the new alternative.

One hears in the opposition lobbies loud voices in which the "opponent" defends people from his village or town who are involved in the death agencies. This means that

punishment will be meted out only to those who do not descend from the ruling villages.

I see this image before me now as I saw it twice in 1963 and twice in 1968 during coups in which the sacrificial lambs were those who were not related to anybody from the ruling villages. Meanwhile, the government retained the death cadres descending from its geographic purview.

This conduct has always given the death leaders in power a strong hope that they will continue to be essential leaders of the death to follow.

The story of the alternative will thus unfold gradually as we have seen it unfold before. In my opinion, this story will continue as long as the inclination is to rejoice at the fall of the ruler while retaining the system of government.

The talk about a political successor is not new. But it will be more serious this time. So who are the successors to Saddam Husayn and on what do they rely for legitimacy of succession?

Within the broadest circle, a successor could just seek to plead the principles of the historical right to power as inherited from the Percy Cox-'Abd-al-Rahman al-Naqib formula. Within this formula, other narrower circles descend to reach the limit of parental succession whereby a member of the ruling family or village seems to be the successor. Another successor could cite his right to succeed Saddam Husayn by virtue of being a father or a son of the secret organization.

A third successor may think that he should be the military successor in the style of ex-President 'Abd-al-Salam 'Arif (geographic mentality, intellectual level, method). A fourth successor may consider backpedalling to the mentality of Nuri al-Sa'id, but within a republican system. Nearly a year ago, I talked personally a number of times to a genuine royal heir about whether he thinks that he could be an acceptable alternative for solving the dilemma of sectarian supremacy at the top of the government. He answered: This is up to the Iraqi people. If they agree on such an opinion, then I will be ready. But I will not be a party imposed on the struggle for power.

I have not seen or detected the smell of 'Abd-al-Karim Qasim among the candidates. But a few days ago, I discussed with Major General Hasan al-Naqib, a friend of mine, the need for the alternative, if he is military, to be of the mold of 'Abd-al-Karim Qasim. I proposed that Major General al-Naqib make a press statement lauding 'Abd-al-Karim Qasim in his capacity as a national leader with balanced tendencies and a leader who was free of sectarian or ethnic impurities.

As for the advocates of democracy, they are neither successors nor alternatives because in our political history, Iraqi democracy has not created a legacy to be inherited by heirs.

Will the Iraqi succession laws be violated and will power be assumed in accordance with the principles of democratic election?

This is what we advocate and emphasize.

To attain democracy, first we have to agree on a national declaration proclaiming the fall of Percy Cox after the fall of Saddam Husayn.

### **General, Opposition Leader Quoted on Post-Saddam Period**

*91AE0279B London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic  
20 Feb 91 p 16*

[Article: "Al-Naqib: Time Is not in Our Favor"]

[Text] Jeddah—Major General Hasan al-Naqib, who is viewed as a prominent figure in the political arena and whose organization headquarters is in Syria, has urged the Iraqi opposition factions to fully coordinate their efforts, pointing out that "time is not in our favor. I hope that no vacuum will develop at any time after the post-Saddam era."

Al-Naqib, an ex-assistant of the Iraqi army chief of staff, has asserted that the Iraqi opposition "has begun to be aware of its Iraqi national responsibility, especially since Iraq's occupation of Kuwait. It has called for a serious collective effort and has renounced all subsidiary disputes and issues." But al-Naqib has expressed the belief that the most important and the biggest role falls on the Iraqi people's shoulders, saying: "The only hope is that the Iraqi people themselves will rise to take revenge on those who have destroyed them on the pretext of the 'biggest battle' and the 'mother of all battles' and of some other imaginary names."

### **"Voice of Free Iraq" Official on Communications, Future**

*91AE0279C London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic  
20 Feb 91 p 21-22*

[Interview With Ibrahim al-Zubaydi, Manager of "Voice of Free Iraq," by Muhammad Mukhtar al-Fal; place and date not given]

[Text] Gulf Bureau—"Voice of Free Iraq" Radio began to broadcast its programs on the air at the beginning of this year. Hours after beginning its transmission, this radio was subjected to jamming by the regime ruling Iraq. This time, Iraqis are listening to a radio station operated by Iraqi announcers who had previously held positions of responsibility in the Iraqi broadcasting station in Baghdad itself. Ibrahim al-Zubaydi, manager of the "Voice of Free Iraq," was director of Baghdad Radio from 1969-74 after having held the position of its chief broadcaster in 1964.

Al-Zubaydi has spoken to AL-MAJALLAH, emphasizing in the following interview that the "Voice of Free Iraq" has succeeded in accomplishing the objective for which it was founded:

[Fal] Why the "Voice of Free Iraq" and when did it begin its transmission?

[Zubaydi] It had been a project on the mind of the Iraqi opposition in its entirety before Saddam Husayn occupied Kuwait. But we were not able to crystallize the project practically. When the developments occurred, the project was considered anew, especially since Saddam Husayn had been able to mislead broad sectors of the Iraqi people and to attire his evil objectives with the apparel of rightness, jihad, and attractive and noble values. So, creation of the project had to be accelerated. Thus, we started transmitting as of the beginning of last January. Daily bridges and channels link us to all the Iraqi opposition parties inside and outside Iraq.

At the beginning of the year, we started with two (short-range transmitters and one medium-range) transmitter possessing modest capabilities. We then added a short-wave transmitter.

The truth is that the effort in which we are engaged emanates from everybody's feeling that the Iraqi people at home have not been able to convey their voice to the outside world. It is in the interest of Iraq, of the Arab nation, and of the entire region that the Iraqi citizen learn what is happening in his country and around him because the dictatorial media withhold information from the citizen and hide the facts from him.

[Fal] What is the objective to which you devote your attention at present and have you accomplished this objective?

[Zubaydi] We address the Iraqi people primarily because they are our objective and our goal and because we are aware of the dimensions of the catastrophe befalling them as a consequence of the ruling regime's actions.

[Fal] What kind of response have you gotten?

[Zubaydi] We are now the only clearly-heard Iraqi broadcasting station since the ruling regime's communication centers and the transmitters of Baghdad's broadcasting station were hit. Moreover, Iraq's broadcasting station confines itself to broadcasting false military communiques and songs that glorify Saddam Husayn, his news, and his activity. This is what the Iraqi people have become accustomed to hearing throughout the past 20 years. We, on the other hand, offer the Iraqi people their real culture, music, and songs. We address them logically, fairly, factually, and with tangible reality. This is why they have interacted with us, have turned to us, and have become our audience. We have called our broadcasting station—the station of the Republic of Iraq—the "Voice of Free Iraq." We have assumed a legitimate name.

[Fal] How has the Iraqi regime reacted to your broadcasting station?

[Zubaydi] Saddam Husayn had prepared and planned for invading Kuwait. Broadcasting stations were made ready and beamed to more than one country, such as the station that was beamed in the initial days to Saudi Arabia and Egypt. Jamming equipment was made ready and distributed carefully and there were numerous and precise transmitters for all these beamed broadcasting stations.

As to the regime's reaction to our broadcasting station, it was swift and active. In our first day of transmission, our broadcast was clearly audible throughout the day and until 1800 of the following day. A concerted and oppressive assault was then launched against us. We were able to escape it by diverting the frequency to a different spot. Whenever they pursued us, we returned to the first spot. It was a chase on the air. We could not tell the audience on what frequency we were broadcasting so that we would not be jammed. This condition persisted until the regime's communication equipment was hit. We were then able to relax and our transmission could be heard clearly from 1600 to 0400 Baghdad time, i.e., the period during which we transmitted our programs.

[Fal] You have spoken of the might of Saddam's media and of their withholding information from the Iraqi citizen. In your capacity as a media man and an ex-director of Baghdad Radio, would you tell us about some of the methods employed by Saddam Husayn's media?

[Zubaydi] The Iraqi media do not provide the citizen with any information on what happens inside his country. They seek to isolate the Iraqi citizen from life around him so that he will not think, ask, or learn.

#### **Opposition Leader Naqib Discusses Military Defeat, Future**

91AE0280A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
21 Feb 91 p 6

[Interview With Major General Hasan al-Naqib, ex-Deputy Chief of Staff of Iraqi Army, by Hasin al-Bunyan; date, place not given: "Ex-Iraqi Chief of Staff to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT: Iraqi Forces Are in Powerless Defensive Position and Preparing for Defeat; Saddam Is Mentally Unbalanced If He Is Dreaming of Victory"]

[Excerpt] Riyadh—AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT—Staff Major General Hasan al-Naqib, an ex-deputy chief of staff of the Iraqi army and a most prominent Iraqi opposition element, has characterized the forthcoming land war, should it materialize, as a "catastrophe that will destroy the Iraqi army," saying that Saddam Husayn will lose his elite forces in a losing war which will mainly damage the Iraqi people and army who, like Kuwait, have become a hostage in Saddam's hands.

In an interview with AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, al-Naqib has said that in military terminology, the Iraqi forces

inside Kuwait are in a "pocket" now and will be able to defend themselves only for a very short time because they are in a "powerless" defensive position that is good only for receiving successive devastating blows, not for making any move.

He has asserted that Saddam Husayn's forces totally lack the components of a military victory and that Saddam is dreaming of victory because of psychological (problems) that make him want to prove that nobody in the world can beat and defeat him.

Al-Naqib has said that the numbers of Iraqi POW's will increase if the land war erupts and if the minefields are detonated. He pointed out that in contrast with the Iraq-Iran war and with the current war (meaning the Gulf war), not a single Iraqi was taken prisoner in all the wars against Israel from 1948 to 1973. This is not because of cowardice or fear on the part of the Iraqi officer and trooper but because of two important factors:

Lack of faith in the objective for which they are fighting.

Lack of belief in Saddam Husayn's leadership which is leading them toward wars from which Iraq reaps no benefit.

Maj. Gen. Hasan al-Naqib has said that Saddam Husayn is planning to destroy Iraq, the Iraqi people, and all of Iraq's utilities before he is toppled or killed. He made this clear in 1986, saying: "Anybody who comes to take over power after me will only take over land without a people..."

Major General al-Naqib has urged the Iraqi opposition to rush to save what could be saved of what is left of Iraq. He has said that power in Iraq is no longer a spoil or a tempting position. What is required is to rescue the Iraqi people who will not trust any future government because of the difficult hardship they have experienced throughout the 22 years of Saddam Husayn's rule. [passage omitted]

#### **Abortive Operation**

[Bunyan] But Saddam Husayn and his military commanders reiterate that they will wage the land battle and will even triumph.

[Naqib] Saddam Husayn suffers from a mental imbalance. He dreams of victory. Well-known military components have to be available in order to achieve victory. Visible reality offers not a single indicator of such a dream-like victory. Saddam dreams of victory because he is psychologically sick and because he feels that he is always superior and that nobody can defeat him, even though the man is a demolished loser, even though his forces are almost isolated in the battlefield, and even though his army's morale has collapsed. He sought to boost this morale with the al-Khafji operation, which is something that was not accomplished. The al-Khafji operation was more of a propaganda operation than a well-studied and successful military operation.

[Bunyan] Do you expect Saddam Husayn to use mass-destruction weapons?

[Naqib] The war has not, in my opinion, peaked yet. Saddam could use internationally prohibited weapons. But on the other hand, the alliance forces will not stand idle. They have the most sophisticated weapons. According to my information, these forces have 1,400 nuclear warheads, 1,100 of which are in the Gulf and 300 in Turkey. I still ask: Will Saddam Husayn leave anything standing in Iraq?

[Bunyan] You think that it is likely that he will use chemical and biological weapons, especially since he is in a crisis now?

[Naqib] He will not use them, unless for suicide and in a suicidal operation. If he is convinced that he has neared his end and that it is inevitable that he will be defeated and toppled, he will not hesitate to use anything. But if he has hope, even a little hope, of surviving and remaining in power, then he will be reluctant to use these weapons.

[Bunyan] Do you expect Saddam Husayn to end with the end of the land battle?

[Naqib] Saddam Husayn is embroiled now. The question of his withdrawal is a tactical question because his primary and fundamental concern is his life and his survival in power. If he feels that he has ended, he will end everything with himself and he will sentence the Iraqi people to death.

Through AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, I appeal to Arabs and Muslims, especially to the Iraqi opposition, to go beyond the issue of rule in Iraq to what is more important, namely: How can we preserve whatever remains of Iraq, that is if anything has remained? I assure you that Saddam Husayn is scheming now and that it is in his evil plans not to die before he brings Iraq and the Iraqi people to their end. We don't know what poisons, chemicals, gases, and water-poisoning plans he is hiding for Iraq and the Iraqi people. My information is that Saddam and Barzan, "his brother" who was previously in charge of intelligence, have imported and hidden the most destructive and repugnant poisons.

Symptoms that could lead to the perdition of millions have now surfaced in Baghdad, the capital. Garbage is filling streets and quarters, sewers are overflowing, trash is accumulating, and people are drinking river water. Because I know this criminal's psyche, what I fear and what I am wary of is that the Iraqi opposition may not find anything that it seeks in Iraq, unless something extraordinary happens and the war comes to a halt. He has taken all the precautions and made all the arrangements not to fall. But if he reaches a phase where he feels that he is threatened and that he is dying, then he will not refrain from or hesitate to use that which may not occur to the human mind. He will destroy everything in Iraq. He will destroy the people and all utilities of life. In his mind, anybody who assumes power in Iraq after him will

only take over land without a people. This is why I urge my brothers in the Iraqi opposition to consider whether Iraq will or will not continue to be and whether one can rescue whatever can be rescued. This is the urgent fundamental issue at present.

[Bunyan] But you are very pessimistic.

[Naqib] Not at all. I am not pessimistic. It is not in the Islamic faith to be pessimistic. I expect this criminal to perpetrate acts which occur to no human mind and which he, his family, and his clique will survive. The problem is very serious. To date, it is the most serious problem a people has suffered at the hands of their regime throughout human history.

Saddam Husayn believes that Iraq amounted to nothing before he assumed power and that he has built with his hand and with his own money all that has been accomplished in Iraq. This is why he considers Iraq and the Iraqi people his private property. He thinks that Iraq cannot survive if he is killed or if he leaves power. He treats the people accordingly. He treats them as if they were his slaves and as if their life, their property, and their honor were his personal property of which he disposes as he wishes. I say this while warning that the problem is not an easy one. The war has not peaked yet and Saddam may use anything to escalate it, thus forcing the other side to use what could be similar means.

#### Orders Given

[Bunyan] What is your interpretation of Saddam's embroilment in this war?

[Naqib] Saddam always makes the decision on his own. He does not consult anybody and does not permit free expression, discussion, or debate. Saddam is the one who makes the decision for war and the decision for peace. He made the decision declaring war on Muslim Iran. I recall that the RCC [Revolution Command Council] convened prior to the war with Iran. At the time, Saddam Husayn asked his defense minister: Is everything ready and have all the preparations and arrangements been made? The minister responded: Everything is perfect. When the late Sa'dun Ghaydan, RCC member and interior minister, tried to express his opinion in the council, Saddam Husayn silenced him and put an end to the discussion, saying: It is over. The orders have been given and there can be no backing down.

Saddam was also the one who made the decision to halt the war and who ceded to the Iranians everything they demanded with a stroke of his pen after a devastating eight-year war. He then tried to correct this mistake with the bigger mistake of attacking Kuwait, the neighboring Arab Muslim country!

In the history of the world's oppressors and tyrants, there is nobody like Saddam Husayn. He is unique among oppressors. His only concern is to stay in power. He has [word indistinct] and murdered 'Adnan Khayrallah, his

closest relative, and even President Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr who bestowed powers upon Saddam, who promoted him militarily and awarded him all kinds of medals, keeping in mind that Saddam was an ordinary civilian member of the party.

### Lost Money

[Bunyan] Is Saddam Husayn a true Ba'thist?

[Naqib] What Saddam Husayn is doing domestically is in conflict with Ba'th Party principles. I am not defending the party and its principles here. What I am saying is that Saddam's regime is not a Ba'thist regime but a "Saddamist regime." The biggest proof is that this regime has executed true Ba'thists who were committed to party principles. He has executed Ba'thists with names that are well known to everybody. Saddam Husayn's regime is tantamount to a gang and to a "dynastic Saddamist regime." Whoever is loyal to the family is made a close associate. Where is socialism and where are the billions of dollars smuggled abroad? The wealth of Saddam's family and of his favorites is immeasurable. Saddam's family has seized everything in Iraq by way of theft and plunder.

Some Iraqi economic experts have made an economic survey of Iraq's oil revenues during Saddam Husayn's administration and have added up the expenditures according to the regime's allegations. It has become evident that a sum of \$100 billion is missing. Where has this money gone? Where is the budget and where is the budget audit? So, Saddam Husayn is the budget and everything else. His regime is a dynastic regime. He, his family, his brothers, and his cousins are tantamount to a secret terrorist agency and organization that lacks all the characteristics of a party. What concerns Saddam Husayn is power, survival, and preserving his gains and the gains of his family and retinue who live in the most luxurious palaces, villas, and places in the country and who treat the Iraqi citizens as if they were a horde of slaves. They may bestow whatever favors they feel like bestowing on anybody who serves this individual or his family. Whenever they wish, they execute, hang, imprison, or banish whomever they do not like. This is the current reality under which Iraq and the Iraqi people live at home.

[Bunyan] What kind of hardship are the Iraqi people experiencing?

[Naqib] From the end of World War I and until Saddam Husayn's arrival, the Iraqi people enjoyed relative freedom sporadically. Throughout 22 years of Saddam's rule, the people have not had a breath of freedom. The difficult hardship experienced by the Iraqi people under this criminal's administration—a hardship never before encountered in the history of all peoples—has had its psychological impact on the Iraqi people. This is why the people will not easily trust any ruler who follows Saddam Husayn. The consequences of 22 years of suffering cannot be eliminated overnight.

## ISRAEL

### Schiff Discusses Iraq's Regional Military Role

TA0131034A Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew  
1 March 91 p 1

[Article by Ze'ev Schiff]

[Text] About a third of Saddam Husayn's army has survived in its original framework, as well as about half of its air force, but the decisive thing is that this is a defeated army which, for the majority, was stricken with demoralization in the last stage of the war.

It will take a long time for [this army] to recover until it can constitute a threat to Iraq's neighbors. The danger today is not posed from the Iraqi war machine, but rather from concerns that the military victory will not be translated into a wide-ranging political achievement; if a superpower is found in the not too distant future willing to rearm Iraq; if Iraq is once again capable of producing nonconventional weapons and if political efforts to solve the Israeli-Arab-Palestinian problem fail.

It is possible that had the allies continued fighting in Iraqi territory for another day or two, it would have been possible to destroy additional weapons systems belonging to the Republican Guards. It appears that the decision to cease hostilities was the result of claims that humiliation of the Iraqi people must be avoided.

From a numerical point of view, one force, which was not damaged at all, still remains intact—the First Corps deployed along the Iranian and Turkish borders. In addition to the forces deployed in Iraq beyond the area of combat, this force numbers about 15 armored and infantry divisions.

It is possible that they will be able to assemble, from the fifth corps and the Republican guard, which remain in the area of combat, another armored force about the size of a division. It is known that only one armored division of the Republican Guard remains intact. The air force has about 300 advanced model planes left. Saddam's ability to reconstruct his air capability depends to a large extent on Iranian willingness to return the quality aircraft which escaped to Iran. But these numerical figures have no meaning when referring to a defeated army whose morale is damaged.

The allies' war objectives, as determined by the Security Council by common agreement, have been achieved. This does not apply to U.S. war objectives, expanded and clarified during the war, and only partially achieved. The need to destroy the Iraqi war machine so that it does not threaten its neighbors, was mentioned. The entire army has not been destroyed, but another extensive infrastructure was destroyed. The ousting of Saddam Husayn was defined as a political objective, but President Bush has stated that he expects the Iraqi people and army to achieve this. It is still too early to know how the Iraqi people will act.

**Minister Milo Interviewed on Death Penalty**

91AE0248C Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew  
18 Dec 90 p B4

[Interview with Police Minister Roni Milo by Aqiva Eldar; date, place not given]

[Text] [Eldar] Are you willing today to stroll through the Old City in Jerusalem, or even through the alleys of Yafo?

[Milo] I personally feel at ease walking there, but I'm not sure that I am a classical example, because I feel at ease walking through areas viewed as problematic. In my opinion, in spite of all the problems, Jerusalem is certainly less dangerous than many other places in the world where crime is affecting the inhabitants. Of course, I'm aware of the fact that the public feels unsafe, but the feeling is greatly exaggerated. After all, if we look at the number of incidents that have occurred we can state that people can safely walk in every part of Jerusalem. You can walk without fear even in certain alleys in Jerusalem because of the massive police presence.

[Eldar] You must have heard your chief intelligence officer Rafi Peled say that young people and tourists are leaving Jerusalem. Do you think he was exaggerating?

[Milo] I'm aware of the phenomenon, but I do not think that it is justified. We've been living together with Arabs here for years and we have experienced difficult years of tension and terrorism before, nevertheless, Jews continued to live a normal life. Perhaps because of the frequency of incidents there is now a good measure of fear or worry, but I think these feelings are not objectively justified.

[Eldar] Politicians contribute to this sense of insecurity when they suggest, for example, that people should be armed with handguns; also, from time to time, after some unfortunate and arousing incident like the one on Friday in Yafo, suggestions are heard—from you, too—with regard to instituting the death penalty. Do you not contribute in this manner to public hysteria?

[Milo] We must allow the security forces to do their job and the topic of distributing weapons to every citizen is problematic. Among Israel's citizens there are also hundreds of thousands of Arabs, and I don't think anyone is suggesting giving them weapons in order to reinforce the people's sense of security. Having citizens carry arms is not a good solution. As for the death penalty, in view of our problems with terrorism and also considering public feelings, it is important to have access to every means of punishment.

In the past I was against the death penalty, but today, though I would not initiate legislation, I would support it if it were proposed. There is a deterrent factor when a terrorist planning an attack knows that he will not come out of it alive, except in the case of suicide. Most of the cases we deal with do not involve suicides.

[Eldar] What about HAMAS [Islamic Resistance Movement] men who go on a terrorist mission with the idea of getting to Heaven?

[Milo] We do not see them in a hurry to get to heaven. Even the authors of the murder in Yafo escaped and are still trying to avoid going to heaven any time soon, so the deterrent factor is certainly relevant.

[Eldar] Will you be at peace with yourself if people who at least in theory have an ideological excuse for their deeds were to die, while someone like Ami Popper or any plain criminal felon who killed an old man for money, stays alive?

[Milo] We must make a distinction between exceptional cases, for which I do not suggest applying the death penalty, and actions that become systematic, where the deterrent factor is important. In the latter case I suggest we use every possible means of deterrence.

[Eldar] Are you also willing to apply the death penalty to Jewish extremists or fundamentalists who are anxious to take revenge on innocent Arabs for the murder of Jews, which occurred after Kahana's assassination?

[Milo] I do not think of the death penalty in terms of one side or the other, but am interested in it solely for purposes of deterrence. By definition deterrence does not apply to special cases, and the rule of thumb is exemplified by acts of terrorism aimed at liquidating Jews.

[Eldar] And if, God forbid, revenge against Arabs for the murder of Jews becomes a national plague?

[Milo] Then we'll have to consider it.

[Eldar] In your opinion, do the police and the forces of the law act resolutely enough against Jews who attack innocent Arabs?

[Milo] We have demonstrated great determination in this respect, even against people who painted anti-Arab slogans on businesses in Jerusalem and against KAKH members. The police is taking unequivocal and efficient steps. We have been criticized for [not] protecting innocent Arabs during operations in pursuit of criminals. I do not accept this criticism because in a state of law we cannot allow innocent people to be harmed.

[Eldar] As someone who is certainly aware of sharp U.S. reactions to deportations, are you willing to pay the price for even harsher punishments, like the death penalty, in terms of relations with the United States?

[Milo] Our first duty is to protect our citizens, at times at the cost of unsympathetic international reaction. As Ben-Gurion already said, "Um-schmum" [Hebrew expression of disdain for UN], but I don't want to wander too far afield, only to say that under the present circumstances we must have our national order of priorities, and the first priority is to protect the citizens of Israel.

[Eldar] Do you still believe in coexistence between Jews and Arabs in Israel and in the territories?

[Milo] It will be a very sad moment indeed if we stop believing in that. We must both defend ourselves against terrorism and develop our coexistence capability.

[Eldar] Don't actions like closing off [the territories] and similar proposals brought up in government last week, contradict the interests of coexistence?

[Milo] The war on terrorism must contribute to coexistence. I am opposed to closing off [the territories] and I said so in cabinet. I was in favor of a temporary, three-day closing when security considerations warranted it, but I am not in favor of separation.

[Eldar] Shlomo Lahat suggests a Palestinian state, Eli Landau supports talks with the PLO, not to mention Moshe Amirav who has long since crossed every line. They have come to the conclusion that it is not possible to deal with the Palestinian problem without allowing the Palestinians to realize at least some of their political aspirations. What do you feel when some of Herut's best sons go and join the CRM [Citizens' Rights List]?

[Milo] Likud is a party of many nuances. That is the nature of a government party. In government you cannot adopt one-dimensional positions because the government is responsible for the entire population of the state. Consequently, each party that comes to power must compromise about some of its former dogmatic positions. That is what Menahem Begin did when he signed the peace treaty with Egypt. Being in power requires more flexible positions that allow one to achieve political objectives.

[Eldar] Can you live with the proposal of a Likud member like Lahat concerning a Palestinian state?

[Milo] I cannot live with a Palestinian state, but I can live with such statements.

[Eldar] As an offspring of the "soldiering community," have you ever tried to put yourself in the shoes of the Palestinians and to imagine how you would act if you were in their place? Would you not try to do everything possible to oust the foreign rule imposed on you?

[Milo] I haven't tried to do that and I don't think that one has to. The conflict is of course real. In this conflict I am convinced of the justice of my positions, so within the framework of my convictions I must seek ways to achieve peace with the Palestinians. That is why we suggested autonomy and made a considerable compromise in the case of Egypt. We are willing to concede to the Palestinians their own administration while preserving our security needs.

[Eldar] Even according to the Camp David accords, autonomy is only an intermediate stage. Since you are not in favor of annexation and you also oppose a Palestinian state, what is the final agreement that you

can suggest to them? Why do you have to talk with somebody who from the start declares his agreement with "not an inch of land?"

[Milo] I see a Palestinian state in Jordan and, consequently, they will have the right to vote for the parliament of a Palestinian state in Jordan.

[Eldar] Didn't that option disappear when King Husayn cut himself off from the territories?

[Milo] Husayn does not represent a Palestinian entity to the Palestinians, and I think that the Palestinian state option exists in Jordan, not in Judaea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip.

[Eldar] Former Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin admitted that he was wrong to think that the intifadah could be eliminated by military means, deportations, and arrests. Wasn't the view of the right wing also mistaken about the intensity of the intifadah and the means of dealing with it?

[Milo] The Middle East conflict cannot be solved only through military means, but terrorism must be handled by military means.

[Eldar] From what I understood regarding discussions with ministers, the cabinet is holding repeated discussions on the means of fighting terrorism and the Gulf war, but this government has not had one debate on the peace process.

[Milo] There have been important decisions in cabinet, but we must remember that during the past six months most of our attention has been focused on the Gulf crisis and its implications. The cabinet made decisions in this matter. The topic of the peace process did not take center stage either in the United States or elsewhere in the world because of the nature of the situation.

[Eldar] Nevertheless, Americans asked that we come up with new ideas, even if for no other purpose than to counteract ideas such as an international conference and to prepare for the political process that will follow the Gulf crisis.

[Milo] Contacts have been underway in this connection, among other things during the prime minister's and the foreign minister's visits, and we are preparing for the visit of Assistant Secretary of State Dennis Ross.

[Eldar] Do you know of any new ideas?

[Milo] I have no means of reading other people's minds for ideas, but as far as I can tell, various ideas will be brought up at the talks that will be held here with the prime minister and the foreign minister.

[Eldar] You yourself criticized the police for leaks in the Der'i case. Hasn't the time come to stop fussing with this affair, since one scandal after another has been turning out to be a hornet's nest?

[Milo] My criticism of leaks has nothing to do with the Der'i affair. I think that one's reputation should not be dragged in the mud—whether it be a journalist, a politician, or anyone—in a manner that affects his family, his relatives, and his neighbors even before his culpability has been proven. This phenomenon must stop. I think that there are already fewer police leaks. Der'i's investigation must, under no circumstance, be influenced by political factors.

I myself have not been involved in the investigation and I will not become involved in it in the future. I will not allow outside interference in police decisions. The police has already presented more than ten files to the State Attorney's Office in connection with money transfers from local authorities through various lobbies in compliance with the request of the state comptroller. The police continues to examine other topics that were brought up by the same investigation. I do not suppose that the process will take a long time; this investigation is already in its last stages, but I will under no circumstance set deadlines or terms for the police. The police will do its job according to its needs.

[Eldar] Der'i told me that more than two weeks ago the prime minister promised him that the investigation would wind up within two-three weeks.

[Milo] I don't think that there can be any promises or estimates in this kind of matter.

[Eldar] As a politician experienced in coalition contacts, what is your feeling about the longevity of this coalition?

[Milo] Basically, from the viewpoint of today's coalition structure, there is no reason why the government should not continue until the elections in November 1992. Agudath Yisra'el's joining undoubtedly strengthened the coalition. Its capability to continue to exist depends to a great extent on its success in the area of immigration absorption and in security-political areas.

[Eldar] The size of the government has been blown up with the addition of ministers and deputy ministers; does this set a good example for the public?

[Milo] No. I do not think it sets a good example, but it was something we were constrained to do, we had no choice.

[Eldar] Ovadia Levi's appointment as deputy defense minister was also compelled by the coalition?

[Milo] I am not yet sure if the appointment will indeed be carried out. From the viewpoint of the ministry's scope of activities there is room for a deputy minister.

[Eldar] According to members of the police force itself, the defense burden that it has to bear does not allow it to handle criminal offenses.

[Milo] This is undoubtedly a thorny problem. The number of slots was not increased, while the tasks that have to be handled are more extensive than in the past.

The topic of internal security is the main topic which the police has to deal with, but currently it is not properly equipped in terms of the forces at its disposal, which is all the more reason to praise the policemen on their work.

[Eldar] You promised to do something to stop the incidence of the police investigating itself.

[Milo] Just today we ended the State Comptroller Commission's discussion on a report on transferring the internal investigation unit and the unit in charge of police brutality from the Police to the Ministry of Justice. They will be overseen by jurists who will be appointed by the State Attorney's Office and the minister of justice. This is a far reaching change and I think that it will mark the most significant reform in this ministry since I joined it. The measure was received with understanding by the Police and by all the factions that took part in the debate.

[Eldar] Are there any new elements in the traffic police?

[Milo] Much to my regret I don't have anything new to announce. There is still disagreement between the Police and the Treasury about the slots required. At times we really lose our perspective. Yesterday, I reported to the cabinet about the murder in Yafu, in the same report it was mentioned that 12 people were killed in traffic accidents during the previous week. We sometimes forget the terrible death toll on the roads. The Treasury must allocate the necessary resources to establish a traffic police with double the number of traffic policemen on the roads.

[Eldar] Are you happy with the performance of the commander general?

[Milo] I think he is doing a good job and I have excellent working relations with him. I have no complaints against him.

#### **New Israeli Arab Front Issues Communiqué**

91AE0262A Nazareth AL-SINNARAH in Arabic  
11 Jan 91 p 18

[Article: "AL-SINNARAH Becomes the Only Newspaper To Publish the Bylaws of the National Socialist Front, a New Movement With Nasirist Principles for Arab Nationalists in Israel"]

[Text] The charter of the National Socialist Front, signed by the front's 13 charter members, was published late last week. Among those 13 charter members who signed the document are Mansur Kardush and Salih Baransi, both of whom are founders and leaders of the Land Movement. Other charter members of the front include the poet Ahmad Husayn and other individuals who used to be members of the front which is affiliated with Israel's Communist Party.

AL-SINNARAH has learned that the charter was issued after a series of meetings was held in Nazareth, in

Masmas, and in al-Tayrah. AL-SINNARAH was the only newspaper to publish a news report about the establishment of this movement. That news report appeared in the 28 September 1990 issue of the newspaper.

According to the preamble to this charter, the program of the National Socialist Front starts out with the assumption that there are two main tendencies on the Arab scene in Israel: the Israeli Communist Party and the Islamic Movement (the religious-political tendency). The charter notes that an obvious national tendency is missing.

"The illogical absence" of a national tendency is attributed by the charter of the National Socialist Front, on the one hand, to the [Israeli] authority's strict opposition to such a tendency. On the other hand, it is also attributed to the legitimate status gained by some parties which had been vying with each other in an effort to win over the Palestinian masses.

Reference has to be made here to the Land Movement which was declared illegal by the authorities in the early sixties.

The point which stands out about the nationalists' movement, which is the subject of our discussion here, is its attitude towards Israel, on the one hand, and the fact that it is inspired by Nasirist thought, on the other.

The movement's attitude towards Israel, which is a fundamental one, is one which recognizes the Israeli state. This new movement believes that "an objective view on Israel's part would make it imperative for Israel to assimilate itself into the life of the Arab region. Such an objective view would make it imperative for Israel to give peace every possible chance. The first step to be taken toward that end is to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland and determine their own destiny" (page 4).

The charter mentioned that it is movement in this direction which can give Israel a broad strategic range based on peace, freedom, and mutual benefit. It can give all Israeli citizens opportunities to become involved in making joint democratic plans to outline the future. Movement in this direction would solve all the problems of coexistence which are based on a truly democratic life.

### Arab Unity

A special section of the National Socialist Front's charter is devoted to the Palestinian question. The charter regards Palestinians in Israel as part of the Palestinian Arab people. It finds that Palestinian Arabs have the right to establish their independent state in the context of a just solution based on the principles of international law. It is worth noting that what is meant here are the international choices which have been set forth to solve the problem in accordance with UN resolutions.

The National Socialist Front thinks that only an understanding between Israel and the National Liberation

Movement can bring about a comprehensive solution to the question of Palestine. Hostile international alliances will not bring about such a solution.

The National Socialist Front affirms in its charter that "A solution to the Palestinian question would be the first step to a comprehensive Arab-Israeli peace. Israel would recognize that Palestinian Arabs have the right to determine their own destiny and establish their own independent state. It would recognize that Palestinian Arab refugees who wish to return to their land do have the right to do so."

The charter mentions cooperation with non-Zionist, Jewish forces more than once. The front also expresses its considerable appreciation for "any support offered by progressive, Jewish forces for the front's struggle to win our legitimate rights."

The charter of the front addresses in detail the subject of Arab unity and the danger it poses to regimes that are corrupt to the core. To the front, unity in the strategic sense means the total and comprehensive unity of the Arab homeland. In its interim sense unity means some form of unity between all or some parts of the Arab homeland. The aim of that unity would be to support questions of democracy and socialism. That is why there can be no strategic solution to any one of the area's problems unless such solutions are sought in a national, Arab framework.

### Democracy and Socialism

The charter of the National Socialist Front mentioned that a democratic approach is part of Arab social traditions. Such an approach constitutes an effective, marginal factor of support, providing inspiration for a period of time and for the demand for social liberation as a contemporary, historic ideology.

The charter touches upon the failure of communist regimes as experiments in socialism. "Regarding the method of imposing radical restrictions on the economy," states the charter, "or that of abolishing individual ownership of property, the experience of communist countries has shown that controlling the tools of application and the human factor makes the application of those restrictions impossible as well. Whatever the real reason for the failure of that approach, it is obvious that such a restrictive approach failed to make economic adjustments to the question of democracy. Thus, it failed in both areas."

Founders of the National Socialist Front believe that a better economic approach for the Arab National Movement is an experimental approach in which socialist ideas would be applied.

In this regard the charter of the National Socialist Front affirms the question of equality for women. What would be the meaning of any democratic law which stipulates that women are entitled to equal treatment with men when guarantees which would allow women to exercise

such equal rights are not available? The question of freedom becomes meaningless when the political and legislative tools for exercising this freedom are not available.

Democracy cannot coexist with any racist philosophies or ideas which advocate differences in rank based upon social, ethnic, religious, sexual, or age considerations under the pretext of providing freedom of opinion. Such philosophies and ideas must be addressed as deviant phenomena (page 7), and democratic methods must be used to refute them. Ultimately, such ideas must be opposed intellectually. The National Socialist Front believes that a socialist economy is the best system for building a society of sufficiency, justice, and equal opportunity.

### The Religious-Political Tendency

The front devotes a large part of its charter to political Islam, and its positions on political Islam may be seen as a secular reaction to it. It is a reaction that is fit to stand up to the religious, political tendency.

It is the view of the National Socialist Front that the Arabs' attitude toward Islam crowns their national, spiritual heritage and constitutes the most advanced social experiment they had in their middle ages. "Islam neither contrived, nor did it advocate contriving, any human instrument or any distinguished religious instrument that would devote itself to exercising religious control, as is the case in other religions. In Islam, different standards are not applied to the duties which are entrusted to followers of Islam."

The principles, terms, and qualifications required for being entrusted with duties are the same for all Muslims. Any attempt by organized religion to interfere in the lives of individuals by claiming that certain religious officials are qualified to interfere in the lives of individuals is an attempt to imitate the priesthood in other religions. And that is something which Islam will never accept (pages 11-12).

The charter adds that "The attempt to politicize religion or to turn politics into a religious issue is an exercise in futility. When religion is politicized, religion and lofty religious principles are moved far away from the function of religion and its actual level. Politicizing religion is a clear manifestation of a special political tendency that uses religion as a tool to reach its objectives. The sectarian fragmentation of society is the first product of such conduct which turns differences in religious beliefs into conflicting interests within a social movement."

The charter also adds that "The religious, political tendency on the Arab scene is the political tendency of Arab reactionaries who oppose the movement for social liberation. It follows, therefore, that this religious, political tendency essentially expresses the interests and the local and worldwide connections of these Arab reactionaries. The religious, political tendency reflects the reactionaries' main goal of neutralizing the effectiveness of

the public's awareness of the facts about the social conflict and its effect on the movement for change on Arab land. Arab reactionaries do not want the public to become aware of national frustrations which these reactionary regimes helped to create. They created these national frustrations by conspiring with imperialism and Zionism to provide for the religious, political tendency a historic gap which gave them access to the awareness of some sectors of the public. The growth of public awareness, however, and the inevitable exposure of the ploy of linking religion and political purposes will deny this tendency its wish to claim any nonmarginal, political or intellectual achievements. This growth in public awareness will doom this tendency to inevitable failure (page 192).

### Jewish Extremism in Hebron Analyzed

91AE0252B Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 7 Jan 91  
p 2B

[Article by Dani Rubinstein]

[Text] Hebron, it's the weekend. Life has now returned to normal, after the Arab city, along with the rest of the territories, went on strike on January 1 to mark "FATAH Day." Classes in the schools have not yet returned to normal, and also several streets around the Hadassah building are closed to vehicles, but the general impression is that the city is quiet. The presence of the Jewish settlers in Hebron in the last ten years has changed the urban geography. Since that night in 1979, when women and children from Rabbi Moshe Levinger's group craftily entered Hadassah House, the Jews' strongholds in the city have expanded. About 40 families live around "Hadassah," Tel Romeyda, and the "Avraham Avinu" complex. In addition, there are more than 100 pupils of the "Shavey Hebron" Yeshiva, who live and study in Romano House. In order to protect them, the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] has established a line of positions in the old center of Hebron, and it seized for that purpose the entire area of the bus station that is near the wholesale market.

The result was the flight of Arab business owners from those areas to the west of the newly built-up area, near the road that crosses Hebron in the direction of Be'er Sheva. Not only has the bus station moved over there, but also schools, offices, and shops, whose business has declined due to multiplying clashes and tensions connected with the presence of the settlers and the army.

### The Pardon Was Only a Formal Matter

One who walks from the center of the city to the Cave of the Machpela feels the changes well. The row of Arab shops opposite Hadassah House was destroyed years ago, after the terrorists's attack; on the other side, the settlers seized Schneourson House, which was emptied of its Arab residents; the large Arab school located in the Romano House was removed from there, and the area of the bus station is a large military camp. Military outposts

cover the area of the wholesale market, which is becoming devoid of Arabs, securing the small housing project built for Jews in the ruins around the Avraham Avinu synagogue. The large commercial area at the approach to the Cave of the Machpela is relatively desolate. There are no visitors, no pilgrims, and no tourists. Even the number of Moslem worshippers is small.

The activity of Jewish settlers in the Arab city is run by a body called "The Municipal Committee for Managing the Jews' Houses in Hebron," whose offices are in the Hadassah House. This body had other names in the past, and it was headed by Menahem Livni, the former prisoner for life who was the number one accused in the affair of the Gush Emmunim underground terror. After a while, he was replaced by Ze'ev Friedman, also one of those accused of terror, who now heads the "Amana" settlement movement of Gush Emmunim. The other two life prisoners who have now been pardoned also came from among the Hebron settlers: Sha'ul Nir, who lives with his family in the Avraham Avinu complex, and the Yeshiv student 'Azi Sharbaf, who also lives there.

It could have been expected, therefore, that in the small settlers community in Hebron the freed life prisoners would have been received with joyous festivities. But there were no festivities. When I asked several yeshiva pupils from Romano House about that, they responded with astonishment. They said that the two life prisoners had already been going about in the city for almost two years, living with their families, and therefore the entire matter of the pardon was only formal. The event at the gates of the Ma'assiyahu Prison was attended by several relatives and associates of Rabbi Moshe Levinger, from whose circle came many of the activists of the underground terror.

Here, in Arab Hebron, in the streets that go down to the restored Avraham Avinu synagogue, the birth of the terror group occurred. It was founded following the murderous attack by the terrorists on the Hadassah House in May 1980. In the first action of revenge against mayors of Arab cities, several of Levinger's veteran followers participated. They had accompanied him in the first settlement operation in Hebron during Passover 1968. The murderous attack on the students of the Moslem College in the city also was carried out by persons from Levinger's circle. Sha'ul Nir is the building contractor who built the first apartments near the Avraham Avinu synagogue, including his own family's apartment and that of the Levinger family. He brought his brother Barak into the group. 'Azi Sharbaf, who moved in nearby, is Levinger's son-in-law, and is married to his daughter Yir'at. And Menahem Livni worked with Levinger to restore the Jews' houses in the city.

There is no doubt that those who live within Hebron are the most determined fanatics of the idea of Jewish settlement in the territories. It is possible to preach the idea of the Entire Land of Israel and to continue to reside in Tel Aviv or in Jerusalem. It is possible to live in

settlements in Samaria, in Gush 'Etzyon, even to go live in Kiryat Arba—the Jewish neighborhood near Hebron. But none of those are like living within the Arab city. Looking backwards, it would have been easy to find the founders of the Jewish terror organization among the settlers according to the degree of their fanaticism, and the most fanatical are those who are ready to act, in everyday life, for the realization of their beliefs. The settlers in Hebron are those who are not satisfied simply with settlement in Judaea and Samaria. They are the hard core that brought the members of their families to live in houses that were quasi-ruins amidst the crowded Arab tumult and the foul odors of the markets. They live as an isolated island among those who view them as their enemies, in places where the decisive majority of Israelis would not be willing to come for even a brief visit. And here they live permanently, going out in the morning on their business, the woman going shopping, the children going to school.

#### A Project to Aid the Collaborators

Today, ten years after the first revenge action of the terror group and seven years after its exposure, it is impossible to speak of the approximately 300 settlers in Hebron as a single community. It contains a small group of supporters of the "KACH" [Party funded by Meir Kahana] movement, headed by Barukh Marzel of Tel Romeyda. There are the pupils of the yeshiva in Romano House, whose head, Rabbi Bleicher, allows no one, not even Levinger, to meddle in its affairs. He takes pains that they will study in an orderly manner in the yeshiva, and that they will not go around in the streets and get involved in clashes. Alongside him, there acts as director and security officer Aharon Domb, who established the "Uvda" information center, which is intended to give a local answer to the publications of "B'Tzelem." Domb now has a project of offering aid and protection to some tens of Arab collaborators, whom the IDF and the SHABAK [General Security Services] have abandoned. The yeshiva received a permit from Minister of Defense Arens to add several stories to the old building, and they are raising large budgets for its development. Its pupils have also seized the small hall and the offices in the Avraham Avinu complex that were allocated to the BETAR [Herut Youth Movement] movement. This is an area that former housing minister David Levy had earmarked at the time of construction for his movement, and when the building was completed, a festive ceremony was held on the opening of an office and an institute of "The BETAR World Center." Their place in Hebron is being taken by the pupils of the rabbis of Gush Emmunim and of Kahane.

In the Hadassah building there is also a museum for the history of the Jews of the city, where the number of visitors during the years of the intifadah is miniscule, and there is a small community of yeshiva students next to the Cave of the Machpela. In the afternoon hours, when the remaining Arab commercial activity is bustling, mainly the soldiers on guard who are assigned to the settlers are visible between Hadassah House and the

Cave of the Machpela. In the small restaurant and in the Jewish souvenir shop it was possible to find only a few reservists who had come for a moment's rest. One of them waited for the stone-scourged Egged bus that comes by every hour in the Arab city, picks up passengers at the military government building and a few pupils from the Shavey Hebron Yeshiva who are going on a break, and climbs from there to Kiryat Arba.

When I rode in it at the end of last week, we were joined by a single pilgrim who had mustered enough courage and come to the Cave of the Machpela. Only in Kiryat Arba did the bus fill up, and the passengers talked about the immigrants from the Soviet Union who are coming to the region and the new means of protection for the settlers' cars. They did not mention the underground, which has almost been forgotten, or the prisoners for life who had been pardoned and had returned to Hebron.

## KUWAIT

### Central Bank Assisting Other Banks

91AE0218B London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic  
2 Jan 90 p 38

[Text] The Kuwaiti Central Bank took the first practical step toward solving the problem of the Kuwaiti banking industry at the beginning of the early days of the Gulf crisis which resulted from the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. The Kuwaiti National Bank has been designated as manager to implement a plan aimed at finding solutions for the obligations of seven other Kuwaiti banks. These are: the Kuwaiti al-Ahli Bank, the Bank of Kuwait and the Middle East, the Burqan Bank, the Kuwaiti Commercial Bank, the Gulf Bank, the Kuwaiti Industrial Bank, and the Kuwaiti Real Estate Bank.

It is worth noting that the Kuwaiti National Bank, the biggest of the Kuwaiti banks, is in a position that enables it to implement the four-phase plan. The bank has spent recent months—since last August—working from its temporary headquarters in London to organize its internal affairs.

The first phase of the program, which has been implemented at the cost of \$100 million, included updating payment of interest on interbank debts. The Central Bank has borne the entire cost of this phase.

In the second phase the National Bank will assist the seven banks in their negotiations with the governments or legal authorities of the countries in which their assets are still frozen. The second phase includes settlement of foreign-exchange contracts. Finally, all the remaining contracts will be terminated and all other debts will be dealt with.

The Kuwaiti National Bank is regarded to be the cornerstone of the Central Bank's efforts to help the Kuwaiti banking industry once again stand on its feet.

The Central Bank has been directing the operation, but implementation was temporarily delayed because the bank had to use the headquarters of the Kuwait Investment Office and because of the office's lack of utilities necessary to run its operations. The Kuwaiti Bank [not further identified] has been able to provide the Central Bank with some computers and other technological equipment.

The National Bank has conducted negotiations regarding its complex international obligations. The bank, according to its director Ibrahim Dabdub, has preserved copies of its records on its external situation up to the time preceding the invasion and has since set up a team of experts to manage and direct the recovery operation. Moreover, the National Bank has a strong network of international branches that help it in this regard.

As for the other Kuwaiti banks, they have been less prepared. Among the seven banks on whose behalf the National Bank is acting is the Kuwaiti al-Ahli Bank and the Gulf Bank, the only two banks that had maintained significant operations and activities abroad.

## LEBANON

### National Leaders Discuss Political, Security Issues

#### Amal Leader Dr. Muhammad Baydun

91AE0217A London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic  
28 Dec 90 pp 24-25

[Interview With Dr. Muhammad Baydun, Amal Political Bureau Member and South Lebanon Council Chairman, at His Office in Council Premises; date not given; "Dr. Muhammad Baydun: Political Feudalism in Lebanon Has Gone Forever;" first seven paragraph are AL-HAWADITH introduction]

[Text] Dr. Muhammad Baydun, Amal Political Bureau member and South Lebanon Council chairman, has stressed that the era of political feudalism in Lebanon has gone forever and has called for comprehensive national reconciliation.

Dr. Baydun has expressed the belief that in the anticipated parliamentary appointments, it is the government's responsibility to choose well, that the appointments are urgently needed under the umbrella of the fateful circumstances which Lebanon is undergoing, and that the decision on the appointments should be made before the end of the year which will witness the birth of the new parliamentary assembly.

Dr. Baydun finds it unlikely that a new consensus government will be formed even though it is possible to engraft it [current government] with new figures, depending on what is dictated by the al-Ta'if accord process.

He has characterized the current climate between Amal and Hizballah as the beginning for achieving rapprochement between the two parties, thanks to Syria's patronage.

Dr. Baydun has pointed out that security in the south will continue to be Amal's responsibility, with the provision that the Joint Operations Chamber take charge of coordinating acts of resistance against the Israeli occupation and that all the political movements exercise their political, information, and cultural freedom.

He has urged the government to accelerate the efforts to obtain the aid required to bolster the steadfastness of the Lebanese in general and of the southern Lebanese in particular.

Dr. Baydun further emphasized that the Lebanese Army is on the threshold of a phase of a real future change. He expressed the belief that the French are now in a dilemma as a consequence of providing cover to ex-Army Commander General Michel 'Awn.

We have conducted the following interview with Dr. Muhammad Baydun at his office in the South Lebanon Council:

[AL-HAWADITH] The Amal Movement is the fruit of the struggle of and principles established by Musa al-Sadr, and the movement has raised the slogan of the dispossessed. To what degree has the movement been able to be a movement of the dispossessed and to what degree has it performed an effective and fruitful political role for its masses?

[Baydun] There is no doubt that the Amal Movement has been the main mover of and element in Lebanon's political structure. It has played a fundamental role. Here, a distinction must be made between the movement of the dispossessed and the resistance movement. Imam al-Sadr linked the two, and his efforts were focused on ending political feudalism in most provinces. Because the attention was focused on a certain environment, this created not just annexed territories but also annexed sects. Thus, the uprising came about through the movement of the dispossessed and its interactions.

This uprising has left Amal's political legacy, and the [Shi'ite] sect in general, with a significant experience from which there can be no retreat. One of Amal's constant objectives has been the objective of fighting political feudalism, and Amal has often succeeded in this war. As for the movement of the dispossessed, Imam al-Sadr experienced the negligence to which the southerners in particular were subjected where the Israeli enemy was involved. The government record was a record of constant retreat from aiding the inhabitants, even a record of "deflating" the state of revolution and resistance among them. Through the area's developments, Imam Musa al-Sadr anticipated future Israeli invasions that would lead to further hardship for the citizens, hence the south's decision to form Lebanese resistance groups—Amal—to confront these needs.

This was a responsible and important decision which prevented the entrenchment of an Israeli era in the wake of the 1982 invasion, considering that Amal led the acts of resistance against Israel, thus accomplishing the first Arab success in confronting the enemy who incurred heavy losses as a result of the acts of resistance. Those losses compelled this enemy to withdraw in 1985. We should note that the resistance was not confined to Amal but that Amal led this resistance successfully.

[AL-HAWADITH] But one of the main reasons for your dispute with Hizballah is, it is said, the disagreement over staging operations against the Israeli enemy after the talk about a decision by Amal to block operations through the southern areas?

[Baydun] Untrue. Resistance operations were never stopped. But there was a kind of operation which was carried out by launching missiles from the liberated territories into the occupied territories. This type of operation is not called resistance. Rather, it poses a threat to the security of our people in the south. Numerous operations of the type had been staged prior to 1982. The price for such operations is paid abroad. Ultimately, a communique is issued claiming responsibility for these operations which end up turning the land into scorched land. This, not the opposite, is what leaves the inhabitants frustrated and desperate.

It is necessary to carefully examine the south's experience from 1982-85 and its experience after 1985. The latter is the experience of internecine fighting staged by Hizballah. This experience does actually clarify the concept of the function of the resistance.

[AL-HAWADITH] It has been noticed through some statistics that Amal's popularity has declined. In your opinion, is this due to the people's despair regarding the militia situation or are there other reasons?

[Baydun] It is important to emphasize that popularity is the expression of a political concept that reflects the strength of the bond between the people and the political objectives.

By staging its resistance operations, the Amal Movement has rallied all the southerners and the majority of the Lebanese behind it.

I would like to point out here that throughout the various phases it has gone through to this moment, Amal has adopted major objectives and causes, the most important of which is the south's future.

But Lebanon's civil war, which has led to serious economic deterioration and to increased immigration, has created very urgent issues that are more important than the political issue, such as the issue of finding a livelihood.

Therefore, the popularity of all political movements and organizations has declined. We should note, however, that this decline depends in large part on the political objectives raised by these movements and on the degree

of the masses' awareness of the victories which are forgotten under the pressure of daily needs.

The major political issues raised by Amal require a certain international and regional climate that has not existed. On top, there is the economic collapse.

But we have embarked on a new awakening now. Amal remains constant to the principles for which it was founded and which led to liberating us from the Israeli enemy and from political feudalism. These are major fundamental tasks that touch on the future of Lebanon's relations and its role in the region.

[AL-HAWADITH] The al-Ta'if accord has entrenched these given facts. In the wake of the approval of constitutional reforms and of the accompanying resolutions, are we at the gates of the second republic?

[Baydun] I don't think so. But there is no doubt that a new constitutional framework exists now. However, certain circles are trying to regain their political influence and to blame what has happened on the militias. But one may not combine all the militias in the same line. There is no doubt that political feudalism is trying to revive its roots with all its strength. But this feudalism can only be fought with the necessary laws, such as the defense law and the electoral law. These laws are subject to give and take between all the parties.

But we call for a national reconciliation that is urgently needed.

[AL-HAWADITH] What form do you see this reconciliation taking?

[Baydun] We see it at several bilateral and collective levels and at the personal and general levels.

[AL-HAWADITH] Is the fire [under this reconciliation effort] hot?

[Baydun] Of course, with the help of the Syrian brothers.

[AL-HAWADITH] Are the visits and meetings exchanged between Amal and the Lebanese Forces tantamount to first steps on the path of reconciliation?

[Baydun] There is no doubt that they are a part of the national reconciliation. An effort is under way between the two sides to define the rules of their political rapprochement on the basis of the national reconciliation to which the [Lebanese] Forces have given their approval. I emphasize that the climate is positive and that this effort must inevitably play a significant role in comprehensive reconciliation.

[AL-HAWADITH] Why has implementation of Greater Beirut been delayed?

[Baydun] The date was to be between the 10th and the 19th. The parties concerned have been given a longer chance to withdraw their weapons and their armed men. Contrary to what has been rumored, there is no backing down on the security plan.

[AL-HAWADITH] What are the political guarantees after the arena is emptied of weapons?

[Baydun] Our real guarantee is national consensus and the restoration of law and order which constitute a fundamental base. We do not demand guarantees these days. We are trying to move the wheel of security forward.

[AL-HAWADITH] But people are talking of smaller Lebanon, not Greater Beirut.

[Baydun] Greater Beirut is not a final link but a comprehensive security plan to establish government authority, as defined by the al-Ta'if accord, over all territories. Greater Beirut is a resting station for the government before it moves seriously and at a broader regional and international level to spread its legitimate authority over all territories within a maximum period of one year. All this requires organizing the government's major political action and effort.

[Baydun] How do you interpret [Israeli Defense Minister] Arens' visit to South Lebanon and Jazzin?

[Baydun] There is no doubt that hampering and destabilizing Lebanon's security conditions is an Israeli interest. We are not surprised by this. But we will confront it with acts of resistance and with the legitimate army.

[AL-HAWADITH] It is said that the Israeli message is that a broad opportunity must be provided to include the South Lebanon Army [SLA] in the political equation. What is your opinion?

[Baydun] In the 17 March accord, Israel tried such a thing. But it was foiled, thanks to the unity of our resistance fighters.

The SLA is an extension of Israeli intelligence and no more than an extension of the enemy's army.

[AL-HAWADITH] But the SLA received its salary from ex-Army Commander Michel 'Awn whose insurgency has been ended. Isn't it possible that the SLA commanders will resort to intimidation and threats, as they did in the past?

[Baydun] This army is a part of the enemy army and is treated similarly. We have become accustomed to Israel's intimidation which scares us no longer. We are capable of retaliating through our resistance and our unity.

[AL-HAWADITH] Regarding the anticipated parliamentary appointments, will they be made on a unified decision by the Shi'ite decision-making centers?

[Baydun] The idea of appointing deputies did not emanate from a void but because of a need. First, the current assembly, whose term has been extended for years, does not represent broad segments of the Lebanese people. There is also the need for the assembly to perform its

fundamental legislative role and to highlight Lebanon's democratic political character. This is why I propose the appointment of deputies who represent the rising generations and who do not cancel the role of the old factions but enable the assembly to represent all the popular tendencies.

[AL-HAWADITH] Some speak of appointments as if they were impermissible because the deputies will not be elected and because they may not represent the aspirations of the new generations about whom you are talking.

[Baydun] It is the government's responsibility to select carefully, and it will only select according to general criteria and not according to narrow calculations.

[AL-HAWADITH] Are these appointments imminent and will the new assembly come into existence before year's end?

[Baydun] Active consultations are still under way. The matter will be certainly settled before year's end.

[AL-HAWADITH] Talking of the government, it seems that a new government is not imminent.

[Baydun] To begin with, we emphasize that a consensus government is not in its persons but in its political line. The current government is trying to accelerate implementation of the al-Ta'if accord. Nobody can criticize its consensus line. If consensus dictates expanding this government or forming a new government, then this will inevitably be done. But the issue will not be raised before the [parliamentary] appointments are made.

[AL-HAWADITH] Wasn't the issue of expanding the government before making the appointments raised?

[Baydun] If expanding it serves national reconciliation and accord, then it will inevitably be done. Otherwise, matters are proceeding well in the current government.

[AL-HAWADITH] Let us move to the Damascus accord between Amal and Hizballah. Do you consider this agreement to be final and do you think that it ends the tragedy of the Iqlim al-Tuffah population?

[Baydun] What is important in the accord is Hizballah's agreement to the deployment of the Lebanese Army in the area according to the army's capabilities. The other part is the ceaseless effort to develop the accord which stipulates that the Lebanese Government be given its role and its property. There is unanimous agreement on both sides to demand that the government shoulder its responsibilities and that it be brought to account for any failure.

We (Amal, Hizballah) have asked the Lebanese Army to prepare for ending the existing situation by deploying in the area and taking over the positions of both sides.

What materialized in Damascus is an accord between the two parties under Syrian-Iranian patronage and after several discussion sessions. We will try to facilitate

matters as much as possible. The current climate between Amal and Hizballah is a climate that calls for closing the conflict dossier, ending war in Iqlim al-Tuffah, and dealing with each other with a new mentality in order to achieve rapprochement between the two parties.

[AL-HAWADITH] Hizballah had reservations on the entry of certain Lebanese Army brigades, said to be pro-Amal, into Iqlim al-Tuffah. Was the problem in determining the identity of the Lebanese Army force [to be deployed in the province]?

[Baydun] Great credit goes to the Amal Movement for maintaining the unity of the various army brigades, whether the 6th Brigade or others, that had gone through difficult circumstances. Amal supported these brigades which waged the 3 August battle with the backing of Syrian forces. Amal prevented the other parties from fragmenting these brigades which are said to be loyal to us. But it is we who are loyal to these brigades because we provided them with weapons and backing. This is what should be done by any party concerned with the army's unity.

[AL-HAWADITH] There are reports about a Palestinian problem connected with withdrawal from Iqlim al-Tuffah. How will this problem be dealt with?

[Baydun] The Palestinians have been present in Iqlim al-Tuffah as separating forces. I don't think that they will cause any problem. When accord is achieved between Amal and Hizballah on deployment of the Lebanese Army in the province, it is certain that the Palestinian military forces will truly welcome a withdrawal.

The problem continues to be Hizballah's agreement to the Lebanese Army's entry into Iqlim al-Tuffah.

[AL-HAWADITH] Is there coordination currently between Amal and the Palestinians, especially since the war of the refugee camps has ended?

[Baydun] The war of the refugee camps ended with a special agreement. We turned over a new leaf with the Palestinians who played a significant role in freezing the situation in Iqlim al-Tuffah. There now exists a vision of more comprehensive and better relations that bind us with the Palestinians.

[AL-HAWADITH] We will pause at the article on joint and individual operations which is one of the articles stipulated by the Damascus accord. Does this mean that security is no longer centrally controlled by Amal and that it now gives Hizballah the freedom of military movement?

[Baydun] The Damascus accord states that security [control] belongs to Amal and that the responsibility for any violation of the accord will be shouldered by the violator.

The right to joint operations does not mean the freedom to transport and store weapons. All operations, including

the provision and transportation of arms, are carried out in coordination with the Central Operations Chamber.

[AL-HAWADITH] Isn't this a violation of the confidentiality with which operations must be carried out?

[Baydun] Nobody can look for excuses to justify the renewed loss of security in the south. All operations are carried out through the joint chamber. This is not considered a violation of confidentiality because we participate in the chamber and we are defending our land.

[AL-HAWADITH] Iran's policy has changed in all parts of the world, except Lebanon. The Amal Movement continued to assert until the latest accord that behind the Iqlim al-Tuffah front there is an unrelenting Iranian will to keep South Lebanon and the Lebanese-Israeli borders a card in Tehran's hand—a card with which Tehran seeks to strengthen its tendency to play an ever-growing role in Middle East policy.

In this latest accord which has been achieved with Syrian-Iranian patronage, did Amal adopt a different position or is there a change in the Iranian policy toward Lebanon's and the region's crisis?

[Baydun] One must acknowledge in this regard the vital assistance rendered by the Syrian leadership. The real change followed President al-Asad's visit to Tehran. The final communique [on the visit] was clear on closing the Lebanese dossier and on regaining the occupied Lebanese territories.

Tehran is certainly experiencing internal changes. Syria played a significant role in presenting all the changes that have developed in the Lebanese arena. Since this visit, there have been numerous developments in Iran's policy vis-a-vis the Lebanese crisis. Iran has permitted the development of a solution in Iqlim al-Tuffah and a solution to the problems between Amal and Hizballah.

The Iranians seem, according to the image conveyed by the Syrian leadership, to have begun changing their policy in Lebanon. We have recently seen Mohtashemi lament the end of Hizballah in Iran. It is obvious that this tendency, which distorted the image of the Shi'ite sect in the world and Iranian-Lebanese relations, has begun to change. This is why Lebanon's Hizballah is approaching developments which it must comprehend. Otherwise, it will be afflicted with what has afflicted Hizballah in Tehran.

Today, there are advocates of change within Lebanon's Hizballah under various slogans, including the slogans of moderation, Lebanization, or political participation. This makes it easier to develop understanding between us and Hizballah.

[AL-HAWADITH] Have the Iranian Revolutionary Guard withdrawn from Iqlim al-Tuffah?

[Baydun] There is no doubt that the guard participated in managing the battle. The revolutionary guard are

supposed to be subject to the concluded accord. They are also supposed to consider how the government may establish its authority.

[AL-HAWADITH] According to the Damascus accord, is there equality in the freedom of political action in South Lebanon?

[Baydun] The condition in the other areas is the same as it is in Beirut, despite the special status of the south. Political, information, and cultural freedom will be guaranteed to all forces. Amal took over control of security in the south only because the government has been absent. But this freedom does not mean a return to the pre-1982 conditions. All the political forces and organizations have to develop a single coordinated plan so that the efforts may be united against the common enemy.

[AL-HAWADITH] The Lebanese Army has always been characterized as the government's army or the regime's army. Does this mean that the army is on the threshold of a phase of real change?

[Baydun] In Lebanon's history, the 13 October operation was the most significant pause in entrenching Lebanon's Arab unity and in creating a new national condition. The army reflects its people's aspirations. It is not the army of the Maronite sect but the army of the Lebanese identity. The 13 October army is the real army.

[AL-HAWADITH] Let us return to the 13 October operation. It is said that General 'Awn accepted the regime's proposals on the night of 12-13 October and that what happened afterward was to save the legitimate government's face and to confirm its presence strongly. How true are these statements?

[Baydun] Michel 'Awn was constantly maneuvering and militarily ready. The credit for this military operation goes to the Syrian command which has been concerned for the regime and for the legitimate government.

Michel 'Awn was not serious. He received material aid from Iraq, and he was tied to regional schemes in the area. We in Lebanon saw the first step of those schemes. Their second step is embodied in what is occurring in the Gulf at present.

[AL-HAWADITH] But, according to what has been said, he surrendered and departed to prevent division of the army?

[Baydun] He did absolutely nothing of the sort. Generous offers were made to him but he dreamt of the presidency and of new elections.

[AL-HAWADITH] How can General 'Awn's current presence in the French Embassy be solved under a French cover? Is it possible to smuggle him out?

[Baydun] The French are in a dilemma at present. They are making efforts to alter the Lebanese Government's decision. But if they try, I don't think they will succeed in

smuggling him because of the measures taken by the legitimate government. This is why I believe that his issue will be ended very shortly and that he will be brought to trial for his crimes against the people and their property.

[AL-HAWADITH] How will the problem of the Christian officers detained in Syria be solved?

[Baydun] The issue will be solved within the framework of the security committees.

[AL-HAWADITH] Is there a projection to merge Amal's military forces with the Lebanese Army?

[Baydun] To date, this issue has not been raised. But the army does certainly need efficient and capable elements. Such elements exist in our military forces. There is nothing wrong with taking advantage of their expertise or with enlisting their capabilities for the army's and the citizen's welfare and interest.

**Administration, Justice Committee Chairman  
Bakhus**

91AE0217B London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic  
4 Jan 91 pp 18-19

[Interview with Deputy August Bakhus, Chairman of Parliamentary Administration and Justice Committee, by Halah al-Husayni in Beirut, date not given; "Deputy August Bakhus: Constitutional Reforms Are not Enough, Unless Right Climate Is Created for Second Republic;" first four paragraphs are AL-HAWADITH introduction]

[Text] Beirut—Deputy August Bakhus, the Administration and Justice Committee Chairman, has expressed the belief that Greater Beirut has been fortified or is on its way to being fortified and that it is not right to say that the parliamentary assembly is reluctant to bring the government to account while waiting for it to carry out its duties. He asserted that sound lines must be established for the government to follow and that contact must continue to exist between the assembly and the government.

He noted that contrary to some people's view that we have established a province and will stop at its limits, Lebanon will restore all its natural borders and the government will establish its authority over all of Lebanon's territories.

He said that any disagreement between the regime leaders is a natural thing and a sign of democratic health and vigor because a democratic regime requires loyalty and opposition.

Regarding parliamentary action, Deputy Bakhus said that the parliamentary assembly has heavy work and that it must work like a beehive "in the near future because it is not enough that we lay down a constitution but must create the right climate for the second republic." This has been contained in an interview with AL-HAWADITH which went as follows:

[Al-Husayni] In your capacity as the Administration and Justice Committee chairman, what are the bills presented in this phase at the legislative level?

[Bakhus] In the Administration and Justice Committee, we have completed nearly 90 percent of the bills we have, including, for example, the proposed ownership law. It is well known that we completed this proposed law more than three years ago and presented it to the president of the republic, Amin al-Jumayyil at the time, who returned it. We examined the reasons for its return. His excellency the (speaker) appointed, as is well-known, a mini-committee consisting of me as chairman and colleagues Zaki Mazbudi and Mahmud 'Ammar, and Judge 'Abdallah Nasir, the Accounting Bureau chairman and the specialist in this area, as members. We accepted a part of the reasons and rejected another part, considering it misplaced. We have introduced slight emendations to the proposal as a whole and we will submit it in the form of a new bill sponsored by me and my colleagues 'Ammar and Mazbudi. I believe that it will be submitted in the first general session. We have also put our hand on another bill, namely a bill to extend grace periods. I submitted this proposal three years ago. It was approved by the general assembly of the Chamber of Deputies and referred to the president of the republic at the time, and it stayed in the drawers of the president's office. We obtained a copy of the bill and, for the purpose of broader consultations, we presented a copy to Director of Justice Wajih Khatir in order that he may enlist the opinion of a number of judges. Regrettably, he returned the copy to us with his observations. The bill was then delivered to the minister of justice and subsequently returned to the cabinet and issued in the form of a draft law two weeks ago. It has not yet been referred to us. We are awaiting its referral in order to make a comparison with emendations made by the government.

The other proposal submitted by me and by three or four other colleagues concerns amendment of the right of pre-emption law. The Administration and Justice Committee got hold of this proposal and introduced some modifications into it. The proposal remained in the possession of the Chamber of Deputies speaker during the recent incidents. I reminded him of it and we agreed to refer it anew to the Administration and Justice Committee or to the joint committees for final approval. We completed drafting this bill in the Administration and Justice Committee. Representatives of the prime minister, of the Ministry of Interior, and of the Civil Service Board took part in the meeting. We have introduced some amendments to this bill and it is now in the possession of the Chamber of Deputies speaker.

Regarding the rent law, we, rather than the justice minister, had begun to tackle this law in order to provide the opportunity for the appointment of a mini-committee. Such a mini-committee has already been appointed and has convened. It is said that this bill will be referred to the government shortly to be issued in the form of a draft law. It is more befitting that a major law like this one pass through the cabinet first. If it is referred

to us, it is certain that it will not take a long time [to be passed]. Even if the government procrastinates for a month, we will again formulate it in the form of a draft law on rents and we will pass it promptly because it is truly a very urgent law. Five or six years ago, I also presented a bill concerning public properties, especially marine properties. It is well known that successive governments granted the rights to the utilization of these properties to those whom I call "big shots" for symbolic fees. For example, a 60,000-square meter plot of land was awarded for 175,000 pounds, or nearly \$200, at a time when it was worth millions of dollars. In this bill, I say that all the utilization contracts awarded to individuals and to coastline companies in particular shall be canceled and reassessed. A committee has been formed in every province under the chairmanship of a judge and has included a representative of the municipality concerned, of the finance bureau, and of other agencies to take stock of the properties and to assess their value. These properties should yield 4-5 percent of their value. We have said in this proposal [bill] that it will bring in nearly 100 billion pounds annually, according to our estimate. For a period of 10 years, these revenues must flow into the Ministry of Housing to enable it to provide any aspiring Lebanese citizen with a long-term loan so that he could own an apartment. According to our estimate, it is certain that within a period of 10 years, the government will be able to provide loans to whoever desires them. At the national level, we believe that if the individual or the citizen owns property, he develops attachment to his land. Moreover, it is fair for the state to utilize its lands and refrain from giving it to individuals to utilize it symbolically or frivolously.

These are the proposals and the bills that we have either completed or are in the process of completing while waiting for anything else that may be submitted. It is certain that the parliamentary assembly has a heavy load of work to do and that it must work like a beehive in the near future because it is not enough that we issue a constitution but we must create the right climate for the second republic. Moreover, we still have several issues on our mind, such as amending the municipalities law and the administrative decentralism spelled out in the national accord charter. The al-Ta'if accord also provides for a number of specific laws. Insofar as we are concerned, we are waiting for this government or for the next government so that we may draft these laws which include the electoral law and a law to create a higher economic council. The government issue must be tackled first. If we feel that the government is tardy, then there will be no objection to our taking the initiative. But it is better that the government get the ball rolling because it has specialists and it can seek their opinion.

[Al-Husayni] Politically, the Greater Beirut [plan] is still complicated and it contains gaps. Last week's public session to discuss completing the fortification of Greater Beirut was scuttled. In your opinion, how has this fortification been accomplished?

[Bakhus] It is my opinion that the session did not convene not because Greater Beirut was not fortified. Greater Beirut has been relatively fortified and it is on the path to further fortification. This is the job of the army and of the internal security forces. Of course, there are instructions in this regard. One may not say and it is not correct to say that the Chamber of Deputies is reluctant to hold the government accountable while waiting for it to perform its work. The Chamber of Deputies is supposed to direct and instruct the government and to bring it to account. It is possible, as it has been said, that the time does not permit us to withhold confidence from it. But for this government, it must be brought to account. As for the next government, we must establish sound lines for it to follow, meaning that this contact between the chamber and the government not only should but must continue. I have disagreed with the opinion of those who call for (delay). This should not prevent us from expressing our opinion. We are reluctant today to request that confidence be withheld. But considering that it has been done, it will not prevent us from accelerating our examination of the budget articles. If the government is still present afterward, then we must hold it accountable because there are question marks regarding numerous issues. These issues must be understood first and then we should take a position on them.

A line has been established to fortify Greater Beirut and this line has been undertaken by the army. With the formation of the new government, I believe that there is continuity in the regime. We will, of course, abide by this line.

[Al-Husayni] After Greater Beirut, what, in your opinion, are the security steps that must be implemented at this level?

[Bakhus] We have not spoken of just Greater Beirut. It is certain that the view is comprehensive. All of Lebanon's natural borders will be restored and the government will establish its authority over all of Lebanon's territory. Contrary to some people's view that we have established a province and stopped at its limit, the state should begin to establish its authority over the areas beyond Greater Beirut. All courts and prosecution offices should begin operating. Insofar as Greater Beirut is concerned, it is my opinion that he who wants to organize the country has to begin with a certain part. This does not mean that the state is not present beyond the framework of Greater Beirut. If, for example, a crime is committed beyond Greater Beirut, the government may not hesitate. Should the culprit be tried by the militias? This is not permissible.

The priorities must extend wherever possible. I do not understand how the border strip can continue to be tied to a peace conference or to an issue that depends on the state's cooperation with other states. Other than the border strip where Israel has established its control, it is certain that this issue is connected with international policy. There are promises in this regard. In other

matters, the militias must submit to the will of the state now that their leaders have become cabinet ministers in the government.

[Al-Husayni] In your capacity as a deputy who has been elected to the Supreme Council for the Trial of Presidents, when will this council have a retroactive effect or when will it be enacted?

[Bakhus] The truth is that the citizens are confused. We approved the principles of trial. These have nothing to do with the time limitations. By legal tradition, if we examine the bill to extend time limitations, the assembly may decide that all time limitations dating back to 1975 be extended for a period of 10 years as of the date of ratification of the law. This means that the law could cover crimes committed by presidents and prime ministers during a period of 10 years after ratification of the law.

The Supreme Court has already been formed. There are slight formalities to be attended to, such as court members taking the oath before the assembly. We have drawn attention to this matter and believe that it will be done. But the matter is now tied to the deputies' will. They are the ones who have to charge or incriminate. The Supreme Court cannot examine a crime involving presidents or ministers unless it observes certain principles. A certain number of deputies, 15 percent of the assembly membership by my estimate, have to be summoned and investigations have to be conducted. The approval of two thirds of the assembly members is required for indictment. The Supreme Court can then act. As a member of the Supreme Court, we have no case to put our hands on.

[Al-Husayni] Disagreement has surfaced lately between the regime leaders on certain issues. In your opinion, how is it possible to (contain) this disagreement?

[Bakhus] The truth is that we are pleased if disagreement continues to be present. This is the rule because a democratic system requires loyalty and opposition. If all the regime leaders are in agreement, then we, as deputies, are scared. We always like to hear (discordant) notes in order that we may be able to exercise our control. In the democratic system, decisions are made by majority. Every issue is presented to the government which votes on it. It is well known that the president of the republic chairs the meeting but does not vote. It is normal for disagreement to develop within the cabinet and between us and the cabinet. This is normal and I believe that it is a sign of democratic vigor and health. There certainly is disagreement. But every disagreement is submitted to debate and a decision is made on it. Are we in the Chamber of Deputies always in agreement and of one heart? Such a condition exists only at times. We will not always be in unanimous agreement. The democratic system calls for voting.

A decision was made in al-Ta'if on all issues. Regarding the top-level jobs, they will be temporarily shared equally [by Christians and Muslims]. They have begun to

observe this at the Higher Judiciary Council which has become Sunni instead of being Maronite, and so forth. It is certain that a civil servant must not be affected by his position and that a sect must not monopolize a position. So-called privileges exist no longer. We have all become equal.

[Al-Husayni] How, in your opinion, do you view the mechanism of appointing deputies? Rather, according to what criteria should they be appointed?

[Bakhus] This depends on the policy of the new government that is headed by Karami. I hope that this appointment will be one of its future tasks because it [presumably Chamber of Deputies] will then gain the quality of comprehensive representation.

There are no criteria. I personally hope that whoever is appointed a deputy will possess the quality of representation and will not be alien to his province.

We cannot hold elections at present. But the government can recruit some committees to "feel the pulse" in all the provinces. The government can then appoint those whom the committees find to be favored by the people over others, regardless of whether the favored candidate is the "son of a deceased" deputy, his nephew, or some other relative. It is not essential that the son of a deceased deputy replace the father in all cases.

We are, of course, in a small country and we know each other. In some cases, there are popular factions that continue to be naturally attached to some families or clans that have a political connection or color. There are some families that are eligible to serve the people. These families' homes are always open to all. But they do not deal in politics or (do not run for election).

With the means available to it, it behooves the government to feel the pulse of the popular bodies to find out who is more eligible than others. This is what will happen.

Citizens are confused insofar as the electoral law is concerned. An electoral law will be drafted shortly and it will spell out how the nine (seats) will be divided and to what districts they will be given, depending on statistics.

The other electoral law which is important in our opinion is stipulated by the al-Ta'if accord which states that this law must be established on the basis of the governorate so that all citizens from all sects may take part in electing their province deputies within a broader framework. The government continues to move deliberately on this issue. I have on this issue a comprehensive vision which requires another special and detailed interview.

### Parliamentary Deputy Talal al-Mir'abi

91AE0217C London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic  
28 Dec 90 pp 22-23

[Interview with Deputy Talal al-Mir'abi, Islamic Congress Member, by Halah al-Husayni in Beirut; date not given; "Deputy Talal al-Mir'abi to AL-HAWADITH: Fortification of Greater Beirut Gives Legitimate Government Opportunity to Spread Its Authority to Other Parts of Lebanon;" first five paragraphs are AL-HAWADITH introduction]

[Text] Beirut—Deputy Talal al-Mir'abi, a member of the Islamic Congress, has expressed the belief that implementing the Greater Beirut security plan is a beginning step toward establishing and spreading government authority over all parts of Lebanon. He said that this plan must be fortified so that the legitimate government may then move forth to the other parts of Lebanon.

He also sees that the Iqlim al-Tuffah issue is an internal issue and that there is no link between this issue and Israel's withdrawal, meaning that Israel must implement the Security Council resolutions without any linkage with any other domestic Lebanese problem.

He has also noted that deputies get together constantly in ceaseless meetings in order to keep up with the current developments and to discuss all new developments, that the deputies are always eager to see that all steps are carried out successfully, and that no gap likely to obstruct the peace process we charted in al-Ta'if is allowed to exist.

Al-Mir'abi demanded that high-ranking officials read the al-Ta'if accord uniformly and that they refer to the spirit and word of the al-Ta'if accord so that harmony can exist between the spirit and the word, so that the luster of al-Ta'if is not wasted, and so that we do not enter into labyrinths that will lead to no positive result. He expressed the belief that we must rise above all sensitivities, that Lebanese management is a fundamental part of the government's performance of its duties, and that the officials must tackle the issue of management with a great degree of seriousness and positivism.

The above has been stated in the following interview which AL-HAWADITH has conducted with al-Mir'abi:

[Al-Husayni] What are the priorities that you think must be accomplished now that Greater Beirut has been implemented?

[Al-Mir'abi] We believe that implementation of the Greater Beirut security plan is a beginning step toward establishing and spreading government authority over all of Lebanon's territories. Therefore, the legitimate government must complete all the steps that are likely to block all the gaps in Greater Beirut and to fortify this plan so that the government can then move forth to the other parts of Lebanon. I also believe that the implementation of this step is very significant and very positive at the level of Lebanon's consensus and peace process. This

step must be followed by completing all the other steps agreed upon in the al-Ta'if accord. There is talk about forming a new government, about the militias, about gathering weapons, about the appointment of deputies, and about ratifying the special relationship between Lebanon and Syria. Efforts must also be made to implement the Security Council resolutions which call for Israel's complete and unconditional withdrawal from Lebanon's territories.

This is why I consider the al-Ta'if accord a complete entity that cannot be fragmented so that one can, for example, implement one part and allow a long period to lapse before implementing the other parts. In al-Ta'if, agreement was reached on several issues, including amendment of the electoral law and the citizenship law, the creation of a higher economic council, administrative decentralism, and other issues. Agreement was reached on many things and we must work to implement them with firm steps so that we do not commit any act that is likely to impede the peace and accord procession. I have no vision of the priority among all these issues because I believe that the ladder of priorities is established by developing a common vision of the method of implementation. Thus, action on all issues should be parallel, i.e., it should be within the framework of a programmed plan. It is my opinion that all steps must be simultaneous, meaning that there has to be agreement on all of them so that we can implement them simultaneously and so that they don't create any gap. What is required today is to draw up a concurrent plan that can ensure the implementation of these steps. Consequently, the al-Ta'if accord should be implemented in a manner that ensures that the state and the legitimate government will continue to spread their authority and the supremacy of the law.

Several issues are raised. They must all be examined, they must be decided upon, and an agreement must be reached on them so that we aren't subjected to any setback in any future effort. Therefore, agreement on and coordination of the steps will lead to proper implementation. This is why I say that simultaneity and efforts to proceed with the steps firmly and with a clear vision is the basis. As for the priorities, I do, of course, give the priority to the supremacy of the legitimate government and to spreading this government's authority so that it can be the only able and just power that implements the laws in force and that restores trust between itself and the citizen. During the war period, the citizen lost trust in the state. I wish to point out an important issue here, namely that it is not enough that we exert efforts for policy and security. We must also work for the citizen's daily life concerns and must guarantee providing him with the essential services which assure him of his survival and which restore to him trust in the legitimate government and the state. I am talking here of such issues as water, electricity, medical care, sanitation, and education. In its steps to spread its authority and to implement the articles of the al-Ta'if accord, the government must also keep pace with these issues that are

considered essential by the citizen. I consider these points very important in rebuilding and developing Lebanon because the construction workshop also requires providing essential services.

[Al-Husayni] Do you think that the Damascus-2 accord which concerns the war in Iqlim al-Tuffah is the beginning of a phase to implement Resolution 425 or is it more like a domestic step, such as the Greater Beirut step?

[Al-Mir'abi] We consider the Iqlim al-Tuffah issue an internal issue. Israel is an aggressor state and it cannot dictate conditions or demand any condition. There are clear and explicit resolutions on the necessity of its withdrawal unconditionally from all the territories it has occupied. Therefore, any internal issue is a concern of the Lebanese authorities and should be tackled between Lebanon and Syria. Nobody may intervene, especially in connection with Resolution 425. This is why it has been agreed to deploy the army and to withdraw the armed elements. There are ongoing negotiations and we hope that they will accomplish a positive result in the shortest time so that the government can dispatch the Lebanese Army to the area and so that we can take away the pretext of any faction that seeks obstruction, and take away Israel's pretext as well. But I don't think that there is any link between this issue and Israel's withdrawal, meaning that Israel must withdraw and must implement the resolutions without any linkage with any other internal Lebanese problem. We cannot at all say that there is any connection between Israel's withdrawal and the implementation of Resolution 425 on the one hand and Iqlim al-Tuffah issue on the other.

[Al-Husayni] There are reports about meetings held in your home to create a new parliamentary bloc. How true are these reports, what is the justification for creating this bloc, and what are its objectives at this time?

[Al-Mir'abi] The fact is that after approving the national accord charter and after the al-Ta'if accord, we, the deputies, began to work to create the new Lebanon. A homeland can be built on new and advanced bases only through a new futuristic view of the method of future political action. In al-Ta'if, we approved the need to hold the next parliamentary elections on the basis of the governorate, meaning that we need to expand the electoral districts so that a deputy can represent the biggest number possible of Lebanese people so that we can eliminate discrimination between the citizens and so that the deputy can be a representative of all the Lebanese sects. So we did actually begin to meet and confer to crystallize this condition or concept. We meet weekly or biweekly. We discuss the urgent issues first because we do, of course, keep pace with the developments, with the security plan, and with the progress of the legitimate government in order that we may be constantly familiar with what goes on as much as possible. We also meet because we are a legislative authority. But we are very eager to see that these steps are made successfully and that no gap likely to obstruct the peace procession

develops, especially since the deputies have played the main role in steering Lebanon to the shore of safety.

We must keep in mind that many say that the national accord charter does not reflect all aspirations and hopes of the Lebanese people. This is true. But it is an advanced step to end the war and to open the door of peace and accord in Lebanon.

This is why we have begun to intensify our contacts. We continue our meetings to discuss and examine legislative matters, or rather to keep pace with them and, consequently, to define a vision for the new Lebanon, i.e., the method of future political action. What is important or desired is not to create a bloc per se but to unify the vision regarding projected political issues. Deliberation among the colleagues is the best means to achieve this end.

In truth, we cannot say that it is a bloc as such. Rather, these are successive parliamentary meetings. We always have an agenda to discuss and new developments to deal with. It is possible that things will develop in such a way as to make us declare it a bloc. But to date, what we have is successive meetings that include numerous colleagues. There is continuous and ceaseless contact between the deputies. The meetings are held at various sites, not necessarily at my home. Naturally, our objective is to serve the public interest and to see the accomplishments we have made bear fruit so that we can give them their true dimension. This is what is important, especially since we have made significant and fundamental strides on the path of agreement. There is no doubt that proclamation is a fundamental part of political action. But as I have already said, this is what we seek and what we aim for in connection with legitimate and constitutional institutions.

[Al-Husayni] The government has given you the right to appoint deputies in accordance with the national accord charter. What is the mechanism that must be adopted to complete the appointments?

[Al-Mir'abi] Let us be clear on this issue because a lot has been said about it. There are fundamental issues which cannot be ignored. There is, first, the fact that the principle of equal sharing between the Islamic and Christian sects was approved in al-Ta'if. Subsequently, nine deputies were added to fill seats vacated by death. New seats were also created. There was talk about the need to fill these seats so that the assembly numbers could be made complete and so that the assembly could perform its work in a manner that befits the new phase.

This is why the deputies approved the principle of appointment in al-Ta'if, keeping in mind that very sharp discussions were held at the time. In fact, there was rejection of the principle of appointment because it is incompatible with the spirit of the parliamentary system under which we live in Lebanon. I believe that if the legitimate government continues implementing its steps and completes the provisions of the al-Ta'if accord, we could enjoy holding parliamentary elections. If we can

reach this phase, it will be a major accomplishment because it will thus permit the rising generations and the people to express their opinion with utter freedom and to elect whomever they deem fit to represent them in the next parliamentary assembly. Basically, I am for holding free parliamentary elections, if the steps are completed and if the state can ensure such elections. God willing, things will continue to move in this positive direction and toward this major national accomplishment.

But even in the constitutional reforms, we have given the government the power to appoint deputies to fill new positions and the positions vacated as a result of death, provided that the government submit an amendment to the electoral law. We are still waiting for the government to submit such a bill to the parliamentary assembly. In the assembly, the bill will be debated and will be approved in the form that we deem fit and that is fit for everybody's interest.

Considering that we live under the umbrella of a democratic parliamentary system, we are opposed to the idea of appointing deputies because it is incompatible with the reality under which we live. But if there is maximum need for it, then we have given the government the power of appointment, provided that the government come to us, as I have already said, with a bill to amend the electoral law. Subsequently, we will insert in this law the rules on whose basis we will adopt the appointment principle. This is what I see in connection with the question you have asked.

[Al-Husayni] Administrative appointments have been frozen for months because some circles insist on certain positions for certain factions, which is not in harmony with the spirit of the al-Ta'if accord. How do you view this?

[Al-Mir'abi] Rumors have circulated about the presence of disagreements between the regime leaders, especially with the start of the implementation of the Greater Beirut plan. Some security positions had to be confirmed and original persons had to be appointed to them. The al-Ta'if spirit dictates that efforts be made to abolish political sectarianism because it is not permissible that Lebanon remain the captive of sectarianism or denominationalism. Therefore, we all agreed on the need to overcome this complex and to rebuild a new Lebanon that is free of these roots that have struck deep and that have been a fundamental cause in fanning the fire of sedition.

This is why we are eager to embark on any sectarian or denominational dimension. I say that the high-ranking officials must read the al-Ta'if accord uniformly and must refer to the spirit and word of this accord so that harmony can be established between the spirit and the word. What we accomplished in al-Ta'if was the outcome of lengthy and, at times, intense debates. There were conflicting opinions. This is why I say that we must not waste the luster of al-Ta'if by entering into labyrinths

that will not lead to any positive outcome but that will, to the contrary, impede the process in this delicate phase.

At this time, we have to rise above all sensitivities so that no job is monopolized by a certain sect. I believe that we should combine the top-level jobs we have in Lebanon and must include them in lists and distribute them according to capabilities so that there is no conflict of opinions and so that nobody feels that he is dealt an injustice.

As I have said, I believe that these positions should be combined and distributed in a balanced manner that preserves everybody's right and that does not make any faction feel that it is done an injustice, provided that the positions are distributed all at once because distributing them in bits and pieces may not be a sound or well-studied idea. I want to point out here that we must pay great attention to the administrative issue in Lebanon because most of Lebanon's government departments were destroyed during the war and have turned into dens of corruption and of mafias. This is why the Lebanese administration must be rehabilitated. Here, the executive authority must devote great attention to reorganizing the administrative structure because it will ultimately run the country's affairs. Therefore, we must provide it with enough scope to be organized in a manner compatible with our aspirations and with the accord and peace process we have charted.

[Al-Husayni] How do you view the role of the parliamentary assembly in this phase, especially in light of what it has achieved recently?

[Al-Mir'abi] During the Lebanese events, the parliamentary assembly played a major national role and was tantamount to the safety valve. Therefore, it has been a symbol of national unity and has continued to represent the spirit of this unity under all the circumstances Lebanon has undergone. I believe that the assembly continues to perform its duty and to keep up with the developments and with the peace process. Since we approved the accord charter, we have kept up with its implementation. We are eager that our role be a legislative, control, and guidance role. As everybody knows, we have the role of watching and guiding the executive authority. If we see any deviation, we point it out.

We also have a legislative role, of course. We must not forget the assembly's role in this regard in past years, as in 1988 when we ensured its survival. The assembly continues to have this spirit and continues to act through this tendency. We are keeping pace with the procession in which we are marching at the legislative and executive levels. We do, of course, support the legitimate government and support its steps, provided that these steps are in harmony with the spirit of the national charter and with the aspirations that we view as aspirations fit for ending Lebanon's ordeal, for rescuing Lebanon, and for a new beginning that constitutes a starting point for building a new Lebanon. I believe that the deputies are completely ready to shoulder their responsibilities and to

observe and keep up with the developments in a manner that ensures the country's interest. The deputies have always called for dialogue and consensus throughout the period of the incidents. This, i.e., constructive political dialogue, was ultimately achieved through the al-Ta'if accord. At the legislative level, I believe that the parliamentary assembly must be transformed into a workshop because the unfolding developments require proposals and draft laws that befit them, i.e., these bills need to be updated or reexamined, especially since the parliamentary assembly went through a phase of inactivity at one time. Therefore, the assembly has to work for the reformulation and supremacy of these laws because they need to be developed in order to keep up pace with the current developments.

### Ministers Discuss Priorities of New Government

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pp 16-19

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[Text] The year 1991 is looming, and Lebanon is on the threshold of a new phase in which many tasks must be implemented to complete the process of salvation from the civil war and to finally shut the file on it.

Because the tasks are many and great, legitimacy wanted to impose the burdens of implementing them on a new government of 30 ministers headed by attorney 'Umar Karami, who has emphasized that his government's function is to continue the course of salvation and national reconciliation, apply national reconciliation, disband the militias, collect their weapons, build a new state, and embark on a development course.

Will Prime Minister Karami's government succeed in these tasks? All Lebanese certainly desire its success, regarding which they are relying on the ministers' determination, mutual understanding, and devotion to the highest national interest.

In an initial survey of the new government by AL-SHIRA', several of its ministers responded to two questions posed to them:

1. What would you like to say to Lebanese on the occasion of the announcement of the new government of which you are a member?
2. Has the war finally ended, and what are the government's top priorities?

The following are their responses.

#### Minister of State, Attorney Nabih Barri:

The great hope is that the war has finally ended, because no one can stop or impede the peace process.

The government had to be broad, because the disputes in Lebanon were so extensive. It is in the interest of Lebanese Forces Commander Samir Ja'ja' to reconcile

with all of the parties with which he fought. Therefore, he must not hesitate at all, not only in accepting it [the government], but in hailing it.

The government has an appointment with Lebanon's new history. It is on the threshold of making very important decisions, starting with the disbandment of the militias, which were no more damaging to Lebanon than members of the regime itself, moving on to administrative and parliamentary appointments and the provision of public services, and, finally, the most important and lofty step, the orientation of the Army toward the south to liberate it and to implement international resolutions.

Let them be convinced that there is no returning to the old Lebanon. Let them abandon attempts to attenuate. Let them exchange the slogan "Lebanon is for us alone" for "Lebanon is for everyone." Let us begin with a governmental retreat [for reflection]. Let us cooperate in a genuine workshop to build the new Lebanon and to achieve reconciliation, development and liberation.

#### Lieutenant Colonel Sharif Fayyad—on Behalf of Minister of State Walid Junblatt:

We wish the government success, although its composition is a strange and odd mixture. This government is facing many, great tasks, starting with the liberation of the south and the establishment of a national army able to assume missions in the south and apply UN resolutions.

We know that legitimacy has received great Arab and international support. The time has come to invest this great support in liberating the homeland and forcing Israel to withdraw. It is the government's responsibility to prepare itself to assume control of the border strip and to end the abnormal situation in it. Of course, when we speak of the Army, the issue of the militias and their dissolution stands out. This task requires profound, rapid treatment, so that it is not too late for the government to apply the articles of the al-Ta'if settlement. A salient article is [that which pertains to] the administrative divisions [of the country], the elections law, and the supervision of free elections, so that the people can freely express itself and select its parliamentary representatives.

It is the government's task to ensure justice and equality, remedy the administrative situation, and eliminate corruption. The enormity of the tasks facing the government causes us to wonder whether it can implement them, inasmuch as although the government includes many statesmen whom we respect and many competent people, it also includes a number of marginal persons who diminish its earnestness and effectiveness.

Therefore, we have doubts about the government's ability to apply itself to all of these serious tasks. We will nonetheless participate in it, even though truly prominent political figures have been bridled in secondary positions and are not represented as they should be. We

hope that Prime Minister 'Umar Karami leads this government with the fewest possible losses. He is like a commander that is conducting a battle in which the primary body in which he is fighting lacks cohesion. However, we have confidence in Prime Minister Karami's abilities and hope that he will achieve the goals that are sought.

If we criticize the government [now], we do so in a positive sense. Our sole concern is the country's best interest. If we have criticized the government [in the past], we have done so in a positive sense as well. We will remain in government and the opposition simultaneously. Our premises differ from those of others. The Lebanese Forces want to demolish the al-Ta'if settlement from within. They oppose with the aim of usurpation. The government retreated before the Lebanese Forces throughout the past period, especially after the 13 October operation. The government's retreat before the Lebanese Forces was also notable regarding the implementation of the greater Beirut operation, inasmuch as the forces retained their military structure and security presence in Beirut, and nothing changed.

The Lebanese Forces are attempting to usurp, to appear as if they are the primary leader among ordinary Christians and the Christians' sole spokesman. If the forces agree [to participate in the government], they would do so after having achieved gains in the government that would give them superiority regarding disbandment; if they oppose [the government], they would do so to increase their share.

Ultimately, the basic casing remains, which is Lebanon's Arabism and its relations with Syria, which perpetuates Arabism and translates it into tangible reality. Have the Lebanese Forces voiced clear positions on which they base themselves? Therefore, when we are cautious and they oppose, it is because our respective positions, views, and goals differ.

**Political Advisor to Minister Samir Ja'ja', Tawfiq al-Hindi:**

First, I cannot speak on behalf of Dr. Ja'ja' to the Lebanese on the occasion of the announcement of the new government. However, I can say that the Lebanese Forces will not participate in such a government, because it is imbalanced, ineffective, similar to an orchestra, and does not bode well. Many people have been telling us that we have sold out to join this government. The opposite has now been shown to be true, inasmuch as we will not be ministers in such a government.

We hope that the war has finally ended. However, we also hope that this deficient measure [i.e., the government's formation] will not be a prelude leading to a military conflict, but will remain within the basic framework. However, these matters are not the bailiwick of a single party. We fear God alone, and I do not imagine that anyone wants a new military conflict on the ground after today.

**Agriculture Minister Muhsin Dallul:**

In my opinion, the war has finally ended, because Lebanon has begun a peace process that no force can impede.

If someone imagines that he can block this process, he stands outside every national concept, is deceiving his people and country, and is implementing the will of others who do not want Lebanon to move from a state of war to a state of peace and play its role in the region and the world. Because I look upon the coming phase with hope and optimism, I can bring glad tidings of peace to the Lebanese people and address them with an open heart.

The time has come to lower the curtain on the war and the destruction that has afflicted everything in Lebanon.

This people, which has paid a dear price for a senseless war, deserves to enjoy peace. I hope that the optimism that fills my soul pervades the soul of every Lebanese citizen, so that he can rebuild his life and homeland, relying on himself, and with the help of our Arab brothers, because Lebanon has never held back; it has always helped to remove harm from any fraternal country, and it has participated in great struggles of world importance.

**Foreign and Expatriate Affairs Minister Faris Bawiz:**

We are in the last stage before the establishment of a final peace. This is the stage of national reconciliation, which has enjoined the presence and representation [in the government] of most of the warring factions. This is the stage of disbanding the military organizations. It is therefore natural for these basic organizations to be represented by their leaders, who will help generate appropriate solutions. At the same time, this government requires a number of independent ministers to assume sensitive ministries, which enjoins their presence as well. The current stage is the last stage before entering a stage of real peace. We must reject the animosities, hatreds, and wounds that have reigned for 17 years. This could be the most difficult, critical stage, because it will be necessary to return to the logic of the state, harmony, coexistence, and moderation. These propositions contradict those which prevailed during the war, and which forced upon a number of political leaders positions inspired by others.

As for priorities, this government will assume responsibility for providing the state with new agencies by appointing persons to be in charge of the basic security, administrative, and financial agencies, following the vacuum that reigned in these administrations during the long war. Then, should it become clear to the government that there is no possibility of holding parliamentary elections in the near future, the government will also have the task of making the parliamentary appointments stipulated in the al-Ta'if agreement.

The government will also legislate, apply, and program all articles contained in the National Reconciliation Charter. Another of its basic tasks will be to present a general policy to develop and revitalize basic state services.

**Minister of State for Administrative Reform, Zahir al-Khatib:**

The government's current task is to save the homeland, deal with Lebanon's reconstruction, and consolidate Lebanon's unity. The Lebanese are now interested in bringing new life to all of Lebanon and transcending the past pains of tribalism, sectarianism, and factionalism to pave the way for coexistence. Coexistence means not only that we live side by side, but also that we give new life and grow together, fostering a humane, national vision, so that we can build a homeland for all.

I say this to the Lebanese, because there must be a political, intellectual, cultural, and moral awakening, so that we can all jointly build this homeland based on an ethical policy. This must be the primary goal and the central task based on which the peace plan can plow ahead, and Lebanon's unity, liberation, and Arabism can become secured justly and strongly.

As for priorities, the National Reconciliation Charter outlines an agenda and a mechanism, which begins by: ending the war's effects through the consolidation of greater Beirut by purging it of weapons located underground; freeing the Army commander's hand to merge the brigades into one army based on one doctrine; and by beginning to consolidate the Army politically, culturally, and educationally to form the kernel of a new Lebanon liberated from the Zionist enemy and its agents. This requires respect for the al-Ta'if mechanism by disbanding the militias, collecting weapons, and redirecting the Army southward to liberate the land. It also requires that the weapons used to win the liberation struggle be [those of the] legitimate [state authority], and that the application of Resolution 425 be pursued along with the use of all means stipulated by the al-Ta'if agreement, so that the Army can move southward to fulfill its missions, aiding the struggle and winning it.

**Minister of State Eli Hubayqah:**

What can I say to the Lebanese, who have tired of hearing speeches filled with colorful promises, whose eyes have had their fill of power seekers looking down upon them as they promise to do the impossible, and they immigrate with empty hands and heavy hearts.

What can I say—that the formation of such a government is an important turning point in our emergence from a critical situation that has lasted longer than necessary, that it is a qualitative acceleration that reverses the dialectic of conflict, so that it becomes a political, democratic dialogue, after having employed the language of gunfire and cannons.

The formation of this government faithfully reflects the new balance of power in Lebanon, which is currently limited to two factions, the unification faction and the partition faction. If the unification faction is solidly represented in this government, it is an indication that the process of unifying the country has achieved substantial progress, and that its growth and speed will double from now on, because it has been complemented by its true dimensions, the popular dimension, which is represented by an overwhelming majority of Lebanese, and the governmental dimension, which is represented by an overwhelming majority of ministers. From my standpoint, if the exigencies of forming a government had required me to represent a certain religious denomination, I would find myself representing only unity, modernity, and democracy, which would dictate my positions, attitudes, and actions. Regarding the end of the war, I can say that the logic of civil and sectarian strife has lost many of the formative agents of its existence; all of its reserves have been exhausted and it cannot return and prevail. However, I hope that matters will not reach a state where a military settlement becomes the only option. However, if that happens, the war will not be between the militias and sects, but between the state, with its legitimate forces, and those who impede unification and peace.

The government's task is clear. It is to unify the homeland, which is achieved by the establishment of security in greater Beirut; the withdrawal of weapons and militias, which carried out a media withdrawal—a propaganda farce; the dissolution of the militias; the collection of weapons; the extension of [the state's authority in] the greater Beirut area to all of Lebanon; and efforts to liberate the south from the Zionist occupier. Thus, I believe that the priority is currently limited to efforts to achieve geographic, popular, centralized, political, and security unity. It is natural that the unification process be accompanied by appropriate concern for issues related to living conditions and all levels of the public condition.

**Minister of State As'ad Hardan:**

We hope that the war has finally ended, and I believe that the wheel of peace is hurrying along in a way that will sweep away the logic of war, division, and fragmentation. Forward movement has begun and will be completed. We hope that the governmental role will be to push the wheel of peace to include all Lebanese territory.

The important thing is to strengthen the unification line in Lebanon, from the unification of the state to the unification of all groups among the people, so that we can achieve social unity, and Lebanon can become a unified society. The peace process is a major process. It would be difficult for anyone to stop it. The great hope is that the war has begun to subside and abate before the quickly moving wheel of peace. We all hope that everyone will join the peace process. There must be no indifference. I believe that the [current] phase in Lebanon is very critical. Efforts must be made to achieve the

Lebanese's aspiration. All Lebanese are for peace. Whoever wants to impede peace must bear the responsibility.

**Interior Minister Sami al-Khatib:**

God willing the war has finally ended, and God willing we can achieve this hope of ending the war. We came to the government to undertake a general, comprehensive, national reconciliation to pave the way for an end to this war. We hope that all will help us in our work.

**Public Works and Transport Minister Nadim Salim:**

First of all, the new government is a result of the al-Ta'if agreement, inasmuch as the national reconciliation government has set out to implement the al-Ta'if agreement, which calls for extending the state's authority to all Lebanese territories gradually.

The end of the war depends on the Lebanese, because the war has basically been between Lebanese. We must try to understand that the war destroyed, devastated, and killed. It must stop.

The government's priority is to extend the state's authority to all Lebanese territories. That is the basic heading. After that, each minister in his ministry, and I in my role, through my ministry and participation in the cabinet, will do what we can.

**Minister of State 'Abdallah al-Amin:**

The announcement of a new government is the start of a new stage of comprehensive, national salvation. This government represents all sides, parties, and prominent political figures in a balanced, precise manner. No party is permitted the ability to obstruct, in the sense that none of the participating parties controls a third of the government's members, as some are claiming, which, I believe, aroused the rancor of those who wish to obstruct. Nonetheless, the government will continue the salvation process, even if a party remains aloof or refuses to participate in it.

As for the government's priorities, the liberation of the occupied strip is in the forefront of its tasks, as are efforts to support the national struggle paralleled by political and diplomatic action to implement Security Council Resolution No. 425. The second task is to disband the militias, collect weapons, and build a national army to protect the homeland and confront the Israeli enemy. The third task is economic salvation, which is an urgent, primary task, because the danger of economic deterioration might lead to a disaster greater than war. These are the government's priorities, which it will present to the Chamber of Deputies to obtain confidence. We can now say to the Lebanese that the war is behind us. We are now facing a large gate to peace, through which we have begun passing.

**Industry and Petroleum Ministry Muhammad Jarudi:**

We hope that this government will be the national reconciliation government awaited by the entire Lebanese people to restore normal life for all Lebanese. I too do not believe that there will be a war in Lebanon after now, especially after the process of implementing and completing [the] greater Beirut [operation].

The priorities that will dominate the government's activity will be contained in the ministerial statement to be agreed by all, which will subsequently become the government's working program. It will include reconciliation and concern with issues related to living conditions, development, and economic reconstruction.

**Housing and Cooperatives Minister Dr. Muhammad Baydun:**

This government presents a new, exemplary opportunity to achieve national reconciliation and to complete the plan to end the war. Because it represents all parties, this government can apply and complete the process of salvation and national reconciliation based on firm foundations that give good prospects for the possibility of Lebanon's revival and liberation and the return of vigor to all of its parties. There is certainly international and Arab support for the Lebanese reconciliation process. This support presents a unique opportunity in the history of the Lebanese crisis. The Lebanese must seize this opportunity to the utmost to liberate the south from the Israeli occupation and to rebuild their state and institutions based on the reconciliation formula. We cannot accept the loss of this opportunity in the labyrinths of domestic politics. Nor can we accept the dissatisfaction of some parties whose point of departure is not the national interest or the salvation plan, but narrow factional interests and delusive bets on the national plan's degeneration. We, on the other hand, are determined to end this war, complete the liberation of the south from Israeli occupation, and achieve a firm, deepened formula for coexistence within the framework of the state, which ensures justice and equality for all citizens.

The government's first priorities are to deploy the Lebanese Army in the south; restore the legitimate authority's responsibility for security and defensive missions in the south; apply Resolution No. 425 through international diplomatic efforts and support of the struggle to force an unconditional Israeli withdrawal; and liberate every foot of ground in the south from occupation. In the same framework, the deployment of the Lebanese Army in all Lebanese areas, the unification of [all] security [bodies] under the auspices of the legitimate authorities, and the dissolution of the militias are basic elements in launching the development process, for which the drafting of a detailed plan is a top government priority. Other government tasks include: the completion of the implementation of the articles of the al-Ta'if agreement, especially regarding the renewal the Chamber of Deputies through the appointments that have been presented

to fill vacancies; and the drafting of a formula for favored Lebanese-Syrian relations, which, it is hoped, will realize the aspirations of Lebanese and Syrians to establish model relations between the two fraternal states.

The government's priorities also include concern with matters related to citizens' living conditions, solutions for problems that have worsened during the civil war years, and the break-down of state institutions, from sanitation to the provision of medical treatment and education to all citizens.

#### **Tourism Minister Talal Aarsalan:**

This difficult stage that Lebanon has been experiencing certainly requires the establishment of an expanded government that includes representatives of all Lebanese parties, so that we can establish the foundations of national reconciliation based on the implementation of the al-Ta'if agreement.

In my opinion, standing together and rallying around the legitimacy in these difficult circumstances facilitate the national reconciliation process, so that development and construction can begin along with the launching of the peace process in Lebanon. Hence, I want to say to Lebanese that this government will strive to extend the Lebanese state's authority and sovereignty to all of Lebanon's territory through efforts to implement international resolutions issued by the Security Council, especially Resolution No. 425, which stipulates Israel's unconditional withdrawal from the south and the western al-Biq'a'.

In this context, it has become clear that the greater Beirut step is a very important step in a long process. Perhaps the achievement of this step indicates the return of peace to Lebanon and the conclusive end of the war. The experience of 16 years of war, fighting, and destruction has proven to, and moreover convinced, everyone that weapons have not, and will not, solve any problem in Lebanon. Rather, dialogue—constructive, sincere dialogue—alone can lead to the realization of the Lebanese's hopes and aspirations to build a better state based on justice, equality, and equal opportunity for all of its inhabitants. Therefore, I assure everyone that the government will strive to end and remedy the effects of the odious war in Lebanon, using all of the capabilities granted to it. The language of weapons and violence has proven its barrenness, and that it will never achieve any goal or purpose. In my opinion, the conflict in Lebanon will become a political conflict in which a constructive opposition will participate by expediting the construction and reform process in Lebanon. As a member of this government, I emphasize that the priorities to be established in the anticipated ministerial statement will be the greatest sign of the coming stage. However, I will not preempt this statement, which will of course embody the spirit of the national-unity reconciliation process.

#### **Report on Changes Faced by Political Parties**

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[Article in four installments by Najah Sharaf-al-Din: "Political Parties in Winds of Change"]

[19 Nov p 22]

#### **Communist Perestroika—Time Bomb Blasts Roots**

[Text] Have the communists reached the stage of believing in the existence of contradictions between theory and reality or between thought and practice? Did communism carry the seeds of its own destruction, as it used to accuse capitalism of doing? Is it the beginning of the end of the time of communism? Is the communists' newly proclaimed democracy an attempt to change the bride's gown and hairdo without changing her nature, or an attempt to relieve the feeling of suffocation that communism has caused for the masses who believed in it or on whom it was forced?

The changes befalling the world's communist parties—changes necessarily affecting the Lebanese Communist Party—represent a kind of doctrinal and intellectual change in communist theory. They are like a time bomb blasting the roots and foundations upon which communist thought has rested from its genesis until the present.

The ongoing debates and consultations within the Lebanese Communist Party are not limited to general lines. They include the fundamentals of Marxist thought that the Lebanese Communist Party has espoused throughout the 66 years of its history and extend to socialism, which the party now confesses that it misunderstood, and which it is now trying to link to reality, inasmuch as "it has hindered people's creativity."

Although the word "communist" has already been linked in many people's minds to a particular understanding of the socialist experiment, communists today believe they face the great challenge of being able to develop their programs and their vision of reality.

Will the new communism allow people to be anesthetized again with "opium"? The question of the spiritual factor is the topic of many debates today. According to Communist Party sources, there is a great separation in the relation between the spiritual and the material. The subject is being handled with a good deal of finesse. The assumption is that the relation of the spiritual to the material is very complex; simplified laws cannot explain it, and it cannot be summarized by a series of rules.

According to the same sources, it is in this context that the subject of religion, as the most comprehensive and prominent spiritual factor, comes in. "The subject must be handled with a great deal of reflection and learning." Religious people are neither reactionaries nor progressives. The political programs they espouse define their positions as progressive or reactionary; religiousness by itself is a matter for the individual. Party programs

should not deal with the religious beliefs of any particular individual. Atheism or faith are questions for individuals.

#### Four Focuses

According to party sources, the Lebanese Communist Party is now carrying on consultations preceding the coming sixth party congress to make internal changes involving many concepts and principles. These center on four focuses:

1. The subject of socialism: Socialism has turned into a school or church. It has not built a sound relationship with the people. This has led to a flaw at the center, that has affected all the [socialist] experiments in the world. According to the same sources, we do not think that this flaw lies in the socialist option; rather, it is a flaw in understanding how to deal with the Marxist method. This method always called for denying everything that was unscientific, arbitrary, and undemocratic. Marxist theory, despite its importance as being from a Marxist point of view the most secure sociological and intellectual school, cannot itself be the last scientific datum, nor can it be entirely scientific.

Humanity is always in a state of development and change. Any part of Marxism that conflicts with the laws of life or with the new scientific facts must fall by the wayside and be discarded.

These sources also pointed out that there is an attempt to formulate a new understanding. This understanding cannot be one and the same throughout the world. Every party must start from its nationality and national reality in understanding these questions. One cannot formulate a single theory from differing positions.

Scientific thought requires that every party that describes itself as Marxist or scientific be able to comprehend its reality and formulate its understanding of this reality and of the requirements for the development of its own society. Common interests will necessarily develop among movements that want change. On this basis there can be coordination among movements, although the interests of the national point of view will dominate over any other point of view.

There can be large contradictions between the outlooks of different Marxist groups according to the circumstances experienced by mutually incompatible societies. The Third World is not experiencing the same conditions as the industrialized world; thus, the interests of Third World nations cannot be governed by the same premises that govern classes in the industrialized world.

2. The property question: We do not espouse the logic of total nationalization. We think there should be some government interference, carefully considered, in production relations to serve the interests of the poorest classes in society. However, total nationalization in the

Third World, after the pattern of what occurred in some experiments, is wrong in principle. In the Third World it is especially wrong.

Any prescription for particular production relations must start from the level of maturity that the society has reached, so as to work to reduce the amount of exploitation. This is a long, complex process. We prefer to take this path in our program in Lebanon.

3. The subject of democracy: This is being focused on intensively and is the foundation for future organizational relations within the party. Party sources believe that socialism suffered its greatest setback when it created an opposition between political democracy, which deals with all sides of people's spiritual and intellectual lives, and social democracy. There should be no contradiction between the two things. As these sources add, in any progressive experiment and in any option that helps develop society toward greater justice we must combine political and intellectual democracy with social democracy. We can say definitely that social democracy cannot occur without political democracy. Democracy is an indivisible whole; no aspect of it can replace any other aspect of it.

If democracy is reduced for any reasons, it will harm the content of this experiment. People must freely choose their lives, futures, and values. This is the only way to achieve progress.

This concept is not represented absolutely in the democracies under which the West operates, although we have a positive evaluation of the level that democracy has reached in Western societies.

It is no longer acceptable today for the people to delegate full power to the party or for the party to delegate full power to its hierarchy, so that finally the head of the pyramid is empowered to make decisions in lieu of the people. There must be democratic mechanisms to control the party's internal life.

4. The nationalities question: The socialist experiments never understood the full significance of the nationalities question. They minimized the importance of national affiliation as a comprehensive choice on the part of peoples. This is one of the aspects of democratic choices. It cannot be solved through a series of arrangements and less profound affiliations. Class affiliation is not deeper than national and ethnic affiliation. There should be no contradiction between these two affiliations. Nationality conflicts must be resolved only by democratic means. Through a complex development we may arrive at societies in which nationality conflicts may decrease.

The same source expressed satisfaction with the new understanding, which, it said, needs to be developed and deepened within the party and which should be made a definitive choice for the sake of a more advanced and more just society. The source indicated that there was no major difficulty in the debates on the eve of the sixth congress and in the wake of the major changes in the

socialist world. We shall ask that a new vision be crystallized, taking into consideration the lessons of all that has happened.

[26 Nov p 24]

#### Phalange Holds 'Open Meetings' for Change of Blood

[Text] God, country, family—three principles upon which Shaykh Pierre al-Jumayyil built the Lebanese Phalange Party in 1936. The first principle, God, needs no clarification or explanation, since the close connection between politics and religion, particularly among Christian sects, has been continuous and of long standing. Lebanese politics could form no exception to the rule. Thus a connection between political thinking and religious belief was necessary in order to found a new party.

As for country, the Phalange espoused the slogan, "Building state and country." What country and what state?—a country tailored to the measurements of the Phalange Party, and a state that applies its policy and teachings. If Shaykh Pierre approved the National Pact, espoused it, and continued to advocate its preservation even during the events in Lebanon despite opposition by Phalange "hawks" and their altered view of Lebanese reality after the "Two-Year War," this was because the Pact gave the "major sect"—and thus the most powerful political party in it—opportunities to realize the dream of "country." As for family, there are many interpretations of what it means. Is it the al-Jumayyil family, or the Lebanese family?

Talking about the Lebanese Phalange Party necessarily entails talking about a period in modern Lebanese history, and perhaps in the history of the region, because of the party's connections with countries of the region.

The Lebanese Phalange Party was founded by Shaykh Pierre al-Jumayyil. Like most parties and movements of the period, it began by relying on a military force—a militia—based on a military organization. The nature of military organizations and their differing political beliefs necessarily force clashes between them. This was in fact what happened. While the clash between the Phalange and 'Adnan al-Hakim's Najjadah Party did not at that time reach the stage of actual fighting, the clashes between the Phalange Party and the Syrian Nationalists went so far as to shake the structure of the young state.

Since the government then was generous to the Phalange, the Phalange was an ally of the government against the "Arabists," "nationalists," and "Nasirites." But when President Fu'ad Shihab attempted to follow an Arab policy agreeing with that of President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, the Phalange objected and formed a tripartite alliance with Sham'un and Iddih to oppose a government that had violated its concept of "country."

The Lebanese Phalange, or "Lebanese Right," was conscious of the political period through which the region was passing and tried to adapt to it, even exploit it in

order to achieve a "Christian homeland." If one takes the "Two-Year War"—more correctly the 16-Year War—as the period closest to one's memory, the Phalange Party went through a number of stages in it. In 1975, at the beginning of the civil war, the Phalange Party was branded as "isolationists" who represented the extreme right-wing tendency. The Phalange Party was able to come to power after the Israeli invasion and the election of Bashir al-Jumayyil and then his brother Amin al-Jumayyil. Internally, however, the party witnessed splits and uprisings. These began with the uprising of 12 March 1985 and the resignation of a number of old Phalangist comrades of Pierre al-Jumayyil, such as Joseph Abu-Khalil.

Today, the Lebanese Phalange Party is experiencing a state of division and fragmentation which perhaps all parties and movements on the Lebanese scene are experiencing.

Upon his election as party chairman to succeed Dr. Ilya Karamah, Georges Sa'adah said that the party was moving from the stage of "the founder to the stage of an established foundation." However, what people are now saying about the Phalange Party is that it has begun to change from a "powerful party" into a party of "powerful men," each of whom wants the party to fit his measure and ambitions.

The internal and external changes that have taken place in political parties are necessarily affecting the Lebanese Phalange Party, which—according to its own sources—is carrying out a process of self-criticism of all the stages the party has experienced from its founding to the present day. Open "meetings" are being held to follow the internal debates and lay new foundations suiting the reality and conditions the party is experiencing. According to the same source, there is a new generation of young people who see the coming period differently from the past generation and who are trying to bring new blood into the party or reestablish the political role and position of the Phalange Party, but in a manner that suits the new regional and domestic conditions.

"The age of the founders is over." Today—Phalange sources add—there is no longer any ideology in the world. All the parties that had totalitarian thinking have disappeared and have been shown to have failed in this period. Thought and program are thus inseparable, and the party will take into consideration the reality in which it exists.

#### Perestroika

What is happening inside the Phalange Party? Will the Phalange's "perestroika" bring different thinking that will erase the isolationist image long connected in people's minds with the party? Phalange sources explained that the changes which the Phalange Party is now initiating through the retreats it is holding to discuss all proposals and suggestions will be to make internal

changes and attempt to regain the role that the party lost after the Lebanese Forces gained control over Phalange decisionmaking.

"We will avoid ideologies and keep pace with reality"—that was the expression that a source in the Phalange Party used to summarize the process of change that the party is initiating in time for the next elections. To date, the changes have included three subjects:

First, forming a permanent committee or body to follow up all developments on the ground and to study whether the party's new organization suits the reality, the conditions, and the changes occurring at home and abroad.

Second, drawing up a new, more democratic election system. Details relating to the chairman's term have not yet been finalized. The committee is in the process of drawing up an integrated, democratic plan.

Third, a review of ideas and thinking. One must leave the circle of inflexibility, so that one adapts to reality, and so that thinking and proposal go together. Political parties that have no internal regulations cannot last. There are many examples of this.

According to the same sources, the debates and discussions in the retreats will include many subjects, but no complete proposal has yet been prepared. "We are in the process of laying out a new system that will take account of domestic and foreign changes and alterations in a way that harmonizes with the reality in which we are living."

The Phalange Party has raised many slogans and has witnessed many internal shocks. Will the new "perestroika" be the outset of a different stage of party political activity? Or will there again be nostalgia for "political Maronism" and the 1943 National Pact that the Phalange Party long praised and defended?

[3 Dec p 30]

#### Hizballah Changes Style

[Text] While Hizballah began its activity on the Lebanese scene as a fundamentalist Islamic current—defining the word "fundamentalist" as meaning a return to Islamic fundamentals—the political proposal that the party adopted and raised as its basic slogan and behind which it mobilized its adherents was the slogan of establishing an Islamic republic in Lebanon. This was based on the point of view that if communists could call for a communist state, and nationalists for a nationalist state, Islamists had the right to call for an Islamic state. Hizballah in fact laid down its proposal for the establishment of such a state and announced it on many occasions, among them the ninth anniversary of the victory of the Islamic revolution in 1988, when it said: "No regime in Lebanon will stand if it is not 100-percent Islamic."

Although Hizballah's actual formation was through the Islamic Call Party, which had Shi'ite connections outside Lebanon with the Islamic Shi'ite authority in Iraq before

the revolution took place in Iran and the Shi'ite authority moved there, Hizballah's appearance on the public scene took place at the beginning of 1984.

Hizballah first attained widespread popular support through social work, at a time when other forces were distracted from this area by military matters resulting from the Lebanese war. Hizballah's social work was accompanied by psychological mobilization, particularly of its Shi'ite supporters, and drills to train its noncivilian apparatus.

Hizballah would never have obtained such a presence on the Lebanese scene had it not been for direct Iranian support with money, equipment, and even Revolutionary Guard members as staff and fighters to fight alongside the party in its battles. Iranian support, however, was accompanied by reflections within the party of internal Iranian disagreements after the death of Ayatollah Khomeini. Leaders and power centers grew up within Hizballah and increased or decreased in influence as their Iranian supporting groups increased or decreased in influence in Iran. A Montazeri wing, a Mohtashemi wing, and a Rafsanjani wing appeared. Each of these wings approached extremism or moderation according to the extremism or moderation of the Iranian group that nurtured it.

#### Hostage Card

While the adjective "terrorist" is constantly associated with Hizballah because of Western media concentration on it, Hizballah has an influence on international relations between Iran and the West, since the party holds as a card at least some of the foreign hostages detained in Lebanon. This gives Iran more reasons to hold on to the party and support it financially and morally.

Changes in the world generally and in Iran particularly, especially after the death of Ayatollah Khomeini, necessarily affected Hizballah's internal situation and raised many questions about the nature of its relation with Iran.

Hizballah sources explained that before defining the relation, one must define the nature of the state. Iran is a geographic area, people, many nationalities, and a system of government that has no significant relationship to geography or to any nationality. This system rests on an intellectual and doctrinal basis. This state is the state of Islam. Every Muslim in the world who is committed to Islam, promotes the goals of Islamic thought, and aspires to spread Islamic thought—according to Hizballah's thinking—considers Iran the nucleus of the world Islamic state. "For us, Iran represents the intellectual authority in light of the doctrine we hold. Iran represents political leadership in light of the principles and universals enunciated by the jurist who is the guardian [of the Islamic community]—in our view he should be considered the leader of the march of Islam in the world and of the Islamic project in the world. We are therefore committed to all these proposals, constants, and universal principles; however, this does not mean that we as Hizballah leaders on the Lebanese scene are

not concerned with the affairs of our local scene. We are the ones who make decisions on matters that concern the Lebanese scene and on political situations concerning us."

The same sources add: "The so-called internal disagreements within Iran are a practical example of political freedom within the Islamic system—something to be considered a healthy phenomenon and a bright spot among Third World regimes that lack freedom of expression. The purpose of differing points of view is to define the best way to realize the highest Islamic interest. This exists in all countries of the world, even those regarded as superpowers or advanced countries: when there are differences among officials or among political forces, the disagreement among points of view is assessed as advantageous to the system of the country that allows freedom of expression, and the disagreement is confined within the framework of an exchange of opinion. Why, one asks, is what is happening in Iran not assessed in this context, granting that the Islamic regime in Iran has distinctive features in this regard that are peculiarly its own?"

"Second, we as members of Hizballah are not concerned with any [and every] point of view about which there are arguments in Iran. We are concerned only with what our doctrinal commitment imposes upon us and with the directives and principles that the leader who is the guardian of Muslim affairs enunciates in order to achieve the highest interest of Islam."

As for the existence of internal differences between the wings of Hizballah and the rumored postponement of the party conference because of these conflicts, Hizballah sources deny that such disputes exist. If points of view differ, they differ on how to identify the best method to realize the goal. These points of view will remain within the field of discussion until they reach the center of decisionmaking.

The same sources added that when a decision is issued, it becomes binding on every person who belongs to the march of Hizballah. Every individual becomes obliged to act according to this decision. Any violation is a violation of Shari'ah, because the goal is to achieve something for the Muslims and the downtrodden. Violating the decision of the relevant [authorities] is a departure from the line of [Islamic] governance, and this is considered deviation. There is no truth whatsoever to rumors about the existence of disagreements within Hizballah. The party's course is divine. It aims at benefiting the downtrodden people of the earth through spreading the message of guidance and justice and the message of Islam. No one who is part of the divine march will be distracted by any worldly inclinations, disputes, or offices. As for the conference, it is an internal matter that depends on the judgment of the relevant decisionmakers who are responsible for the course of Hizballah and on the presence of political and security conditions favorable for holding the conference. To date, we do not consider the security and political conditions right.

### Slogans and Principles

The slogan that Hizballah has raised since its founding was and still is, "Establishing an Islamic republic." Given the tendency that each faction is experiencing to make allowance for reality, what has happened to this slogan?

Hizballah sources said that the party "espouses Islam as a thesis, a message, and a comprehensive social system—as a system of values along with the implications that this system has for individual or social behavior. We strive to realize this system because we believe that it is the best system for solving human problems and bringing about justice. This is at the heart of our belief, conviction, and thinking. However, the political movement by means of which we are trying to overcome obstacles to the ideas in which we believe is linked to the existing reality, to the obstacles that exist in this reality, and to our own resources. The political position is based on this reality and on commitment to the goal. We have therefore never in any political program or political position in Lebanon proposed the slogan of 'an Islamic state' or 'an Islamic republic.' We have held and still hold that the choice should be left to the people. This is a natural right for them, to choose their destiny and select their system. Having enunciated our convictions and positions, we will accept what people choose, without any compulsion or suppression. That is the keynote of all our positions in harmony with our conviction."

"In our literature," the same source adds, "and our analyses, we always repeat that there are priorities for reaching the goal. Central to these priorities is the fact that the Lebanese crisis is determined fundamentally by the Zionist occupation, its ambitions, and its influence. Thus, the right and natural point of entry for treating the crisis is by combatting the occupation, dislodging it, and thwarting its expansionist plans."

"As for the domestic situation," the same source adds, "the sectarian system and the system of privileges is a system of backwardness and social injustice. It is one of the things that allowed the enemy to penetrate into the heart of the domestic situation. Therefore, one way of confronting the occupation is by overthrowing the sectarian system and establishing a system without sectarian foundations—a system of equality, freedom, and justice. Hizballah therefore continues to hold to its slogans and principles. It may change style; a change of style is something natural because of changing conditions and givens. Our desire is for Islam to prevail and spread throughout the world. This is the goal for which we exert all our efforts, although we fully and exactly understand the nature and peculiarities of Lebanese reality and what we can gain from it for the realization of our goals."

[17 Dec p 23]

### Amal for an Awakening of the Nationalist Tendency

[Text] "Today's Amal Movement is not the movement that existed in the days of [Imam] Musa al-Sadr. If he

returned, he would change many things." Such often repeated statements by Amal Movement veterans are a sure sign that the movement has witnessed many changes from its foundation in the days of Musa al-Sadr to the present. The question is what these changes are and what effects they have had on the course of the movement generally and on its ideological line specifically.

Certainly, the changes of which movement veterans speak—those who were members of the movement in the days of Musa al-Sadr—are changes in the nature of certain elements, not in the essence of the movement's thinking.

The Amal Movement was founded publicly in 1975, but its seeds go back to the late fifties, when buds of a popular political flowering began to appear in Lebanese political participation.

Before that date, the Shi'ah in Lebanon did not participate effectively in Lebanese politics, which were based on a dualism of representation in the government. With the arrival and settlement of Musa al-Sadr in Lebanon, the Shi'ite interaction that he created began to develop into various pressing demands on the government, which was unable to lift injustice and deprivation from the Shi'ah. The Shi'ah found that the imam's proposals were the best expression of their hopes and aspirations, despite the fact that political parties representing the Shi'ah existed at the time.

The Amal Movement is thus the product of a congruence of views between a mass base and a leadership that was able to polarize this base with its proposals that expressed the aspirations of this base for the future of the Shi'ah in Lebanon—a future which Imam al-Sadr insisted was "nationalist and ultimately for the Shi'ah."

With the announcement of the establishment of the Amal Movement in 1975 and with the beginnings of the civil war, it became necessary to take a position on the ongoing war. Imam al-Sadr took the line of preserving Lebanon, its unity, and the coexistence of its people within a just state that treated everyone equally and prevented the deprivation of citizens "of any sect," since those suffering deprivation were not limited to the Shi'ite sect.

### Sensitivities

Imam Musa al-Sadr's moderate position at the time aroused the sensitivities of Kamal Junblatt's National Movement—he was later assassinated—and of the Palestinians. The imam supported their cause, but rejected their excesses and their use of South Lebanon as a base for launching rockets against "Zionist settlements," thereby causing Zionist reprisals against the Shi'ah in the south. Because of this sensitivity and the movement's moderate position, Amal's role in the 1975-76 domestic conflict was secondary and limited to enunciating the idea of coexistence and the unity of Lebanon.

In the years 1977, 1978, and 1979, the movement went through a period of exceptional conditions for it on the domestic Lebanese and regional levels: 1) the March 1978 Israeli invasion of Lebanon; 2) the victory of the revolution in Iran; and 3) the disappearance of Musa al-Sadr, which left an emotional and religious feeling among the Shi'ah and made them rally around the Amal Movement.

### After al-Sadr

While the foundation period required a strong personality like Musa al-Sadr, the post-Sadr period also needed a personality able to preserve the movement's existence and unity. This is what Nabih Barri was able to embody. He forced his presence onto the Lebanese scene as soon as he assumed the responsibility of heading the Amal Movement as successor to Husayn al-Husayni. However, Barri's strength did not prevent some from trying to become independent from the "mother organization" under many slogans that they tried to portray as being fundamental, while everything else was unauthentic.

After the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, during which Amal played a large role, thereby proving that it both espoused and implemented the slogan of fighting Israel, President Ilyas Sarkis attempted to form a national unity government with the participation of Nabih Barri. Husayn al-Musawi considered Barri's acceptance of participation in the government a violation of the movement's principles and attempted to secede under the name "Islamic Amal."

The movement's emergence under Barri's leadership from a purely religious character and its transformation into a mass political movement gave it freedom of political movement on the scene without violating its basic principles or the essence of its doctrine as a movement. The movement paid the price for this intellectual commitment in the form of military battles with various political bodies existing on the Lebanese scene. The fact that the movement is a "movement for change" does not mean that it wants to overthrow the regime, but rather to reform it, if possible, or discuss alternative proposals for reaching the best ways to guarantee a continuation of the "coexistence formula" that characterizes Lebanese society.

There is no doubt that Amal was a principle force in the uprising of 6 February 1984, which led to changing the equation of alliances. This did not mean that Amal was against the existence of the government and the country. The "battle over the flag" against the socialist ally took place in order to preserve the symbol and the state, notwithstanding the disdain and deprivation to which the state subjected the masses of the movement.

### On the Red Line

In 1987, the "cruellest war" took place among the Shi'ites themselves—between Amal and Hizballah. The fighting led to confusion in Shi'ite thinking. As a result, some

leaders and military elements of the movement stood on the "red line" without leaving the movement or joining Hizballah.

These episodes weakened the movement militarily, but did not affect its general policy or its basic principles, even in the area of its regional and foreign policy, which stressed the Arabness of Lebanon and saw Lebanon's special relationship with Syria as the best guarantee of this Arabness and the best way to prevent Israeli infiltration into Lebanon.

Having maintained its constant political attitudes, especially regarding the issue of South Lebanon, the Arabness of Lebanon, and coexistence through a return of the legitimate government to all regions of Lebanon, the Amal Movement continues to play a role in the ongoing changes. According to movement sources, it has begun to propose changes in the area of reshaping the nationalist tendency as a whole. The same sources add that Amal, relying on the movement's heritage of enunciating the nationalist demands of the deprived, deprived regions, and the fundamental issue of the south, will try to play a fundamental role in reshaping the nationalist tendency so that it arrives at a working formula not affected by the sectarian and confessional spirit.

The sources explained that Amal in this context has begun a series of meetings with most of the country's political bodies in order to undertake this reshaping and arrive at a working program to raise the level of political activity and encourage the nationalist tendency as a whole in the wake of its having been rent by wars and internal conflicts.

Amal sources believe that there are two inseparable elements: Amal's organizing, strengthening, and encouraging of the resistance in the south, and at the same time the return of the Lebanese army to the south to take up duties of security and defense. These sources indicate that the close connection of these two elements will create a climate that will allow a broad popular awakening centering on the resistance. It will strengthen the cohesion between the people and the resistance as a great nationalistic project. At the same time it will end all the internal wars and conflicts that in the past created great suffering in the various areas of Lebanon, especially in the south, and partially extinguished the flame of resistance.

#### Constant Principles

Change, according to these sources, will take place at the level of the image that has taken shape among people and at the internal organizational level, bearing in mind the movement's constant principle of strategic relations with Syria. This principle will be embodied in the concept of special relations stated in the charter of national reconciliation. Calling attention to the fact that nobody but Syria has ever stood beside Lebanon, particularly the south, in its struggles to liberate its land, the movement

has called for special relations as a response to Israeli infiltration within Lebanon and to protect Lebanon from Israeli ambitions.

## MOROCCO

### Finance Minister Interviewed on Credit Rules

91AA0181D London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
16 Dec 90 p 9

[Article: "Bank Credit Deregulation Starting in January"]

[Text] The Moroccan minister of finance, Mohamed Barrada, unveiled some aspects of the bank credit deregulation program which will be put into effect as of next 1 January, saying that, in a meeting with the Moroccan banks within the framework of the Financial Market and Credit Organization, the Ministry of Finance decided to cancel bank credit restrictions.

Mohamed Barrada commented on the current Moroccan banking system, saying that bank credit restrictions stunt the growth of banking institutions and are incompatible with the new requirements of the Moroccan economy which is developing toward liberalism.

He also said that the current monetary system in Morocco suffers from a shortage of revenue and lack of competition, and that it grants many loans to the state treasury at the expense of other components of the Moroccan economy.

He also said that, under the banking sector reforms that are under way, credit restrictions used as a direct method of oversight will be replaced by two indirect tools, namely the monetary reserve and the interest rate. The rate of monetary reserves presently is 12 percent, but may go up in the future to about 25 percent. Moreover, it has also been decided to free interest rates on long-term credit now that interest rates on short-term credit have been liberated this year. All these measures will be coupled with a gradual reduction of mandatory bank-revenue investments, keeping in mind that the current banking system requires that 54 percent of bank deposits be put in mandatory investments.

Mohamed Barrada explained that tools shall be put in place to provide conditions for creating a true capital market. He noted, however, that parallel to the process of freeing the banking sector, new rules will be set to protect the financial equilibrium, saying that bank reform will make it possible to promote competition among banks and stimulate greater dynamism and better investment of resources.

The Moroccan minister of finance had mentioned in a seminar organized by the Rabat chapter of the Businessmen's Association that economic swings in the world this year have had a clear impact on Morocco and that this impact will extend into 1991.

The Moroccan official said that three changes in the world economy have had and will continue to have a clear impact on the Moroccan economy. These changes are the Gulf crisis and its repercussions on the oil market, eastern Europe's integration into the market economy, and the anticipated rise in supply-goods prices in industrialized countries. Mohamed Barrada believes that international subsidies to countries that have recently joined the world market will be done proportionately at the expense of developing countries. He added that the value of Moroccan imports is going up parallel to two significant shifts in the international situation: the price of a barrel of oil that has doubled since the outbreak of the Gulf crisis has raised Morocco's import bill, and the anticipated rise in supply goods prices in advanced countries will raise the cost of manufactured goods Morocco will import.

The Moroccan minister of finance explained that the Moroccan economy's vulnerability to world market fluctuations can be attributed to three characteristics that mark the current economic situation in Morocco. Foreign trade represents over 40 percent of Morocco's GNP, hence the international-trade slump has a direct impact on the volume of Moroccan imports and higher international market prices inflate the value of Moroccan imports, thus affecting price development in the local market.

He pointed to the new wave of inflation in the industrialized countries at rates ranging from 1 to 3 percent, explaining that this wave has made its way to Morocco where the rate of inflation this year rose to 6.5 percent compared to 3 percent in recent years. He believed that the 9.5-percent devaluation of the dirham as of last May has contributed to this development and said that Morocco's foreign debt in the amount of \$20.6 billion has added to Morocco's vulnerability to international economic swings. Morocco allocates 6 percent of its local wealth and 18 percent of its hard-currency revenues each year to pay the interest on its foreign debts, hence its concern about international interest rate hikes. Every one-point rise in interest rates means more than \$40 million in additional burdens to service the foreign debt.

Morocco's energy dependency heightens its vulnerability to international economic swings. Because it imports most of its energy needs, Morocco is highly susceptible to the Gulf crisis' repercussions on the oil market. During the current year, the dollar value of Morocco's oil imports rose at a rate of 34 percent, which means that an additional burden of \$250 million has been added to the balance of payments. However, the minister of finance went on to say that Morocco has been able to surmount such circumstantial difficulties dictated by shifts in the world economy, citing as an example Morocco's loss of a number of markets in the Gulf and the difficulty last year in selling phosphate products. He believes that the exceptional increase in Morocco's hard currency reserves compared to recent years is evidence that Morocco is able to surmount such difficulties. Morocco's

hard-currency reserves have risen from \$500 million last year to \$1.5 billion this year.

### **Decentralization Seen As Step Toward Democracy**

91AA0182A London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic  
24 Dec 90 pp 20

[Article Abu-Bakr al-Siddiq al-Sharif]

[Text] Rabat—Among the many characteristics of the local government experiment in the Moroccan Kingdom are the periodical symposiums held under specific slogans which the country's monarch King Hassan II, in his capacity as the engineer of the Moroccan renaissance in all fields, proposes to regulate gradual progress toward comprehensive development.

The symposium recently held at the Ministry of Interior fell in this category. The symposium was attended by all the provincial governors, members of the Chamber of Representatives and of urban and rural community councils, in addition to Moroccan and foreign journalists.

Although this was an exceptional symposium, the issues it dealt with focused on the effective presence of collective action and the vital role of the Moroccan man who, through this successful experiment, became an effective and active participant in shaping his future. One of the most significant characteristics of the presence in question was the symposium's subject concerning assigning new responsibilities to these councils and granting them greater powers to serve the Moroccan man's daily needs.

In order to understand this qualitative leap in collective Moroccan action, light must be shed on the stages of decentralization in management which Morocco has pursued for several years. On the basis of the symposium's documents, this development can be summed up as follows:

- 1976-79: This period was characterized by great activities that were devoted to providing material requirements for and bolstering the structure of local administrations; defining the state of localities; physically transferring responsibilities; organizing administrative structures; recruiting the first group [of workers] for local public office jobs; restructuring local finances; and overseeing and providing items of a priority nature.
- 1979-83: This stage basically concentrates on two principal points: bolstering the local cadre and subsidizing the finances of local communes. This is evident in the following:
- An intensive program for the training and employment of cadres; restructuring the administrative structure; substantial growth in financial resources thanks to the establishment of the fund for development of local communes; major programs to deal with delays occurring in the basic structures.

- 1984-90: This important phase marks the end of the series which began in 1976, thanks to which the principal mainstays of decentralized activities were established.
- With regard to human resources, thanks to an intensive campaign it has been possible to recruit senior cadres and to distribute qualified people on a national level, including rural communes.
- With regard to financial resources, this was carried out through allocating 30 percent of the revenues from the value-added tax for the benefit of local communes, reforming local tax law, and boosting loans allocated for investment.

#### Motives and Ambiguities

With regard to this new experiment within which collective work will occur, the most important papers of the symposium say that "the demand by the local voters for new allocations to be made for the benefit of local communes, undoubtedly remains the common denominator that is always agreed upon. Nobody would think of arguing against the benefits of this request. The same thing goes for Morocco, since granting new allocations to Moroccan communes is a matter of course. On one hand the local communes cannot be satisfied with the level of development they have reached, which has enabled them to demonstrate their abilities and develop their efficiency, and on the other the application of decentralization has enabled the identification of the numerous advantages of this method, since it is unacceptable and harmful to the national economy to not apply this to the other government-administration sectors.

Moreover, the principle of assigning new jurisdictions for local communes does not arouse any controversy as much as does the historical conditions in which it will take place and the terms under which it is implemented.

With regard to the question of whether the idea of assigning these responsibilities is linked to the unfavorable economic conditions, the paper says: Expansion of the local jurisdictions raises two problems:

The first concerns assigning new responsibilities without their being accompanied by the means necessary to realize them.

The second concerns the likelihood of some of the communes being not ready to bear new responsibilities.

Local voters who expressed satisfaction with the new positive atmosphere that the new financial and tax arrangements provide, also expressed their fear of new burdens being added without additional suitable means being provided, which could lead to aborting the expected advantages.

Therefore, the duration of such an assignment must be clarified and an end must be put to fears by providing the necessary clarifications and distinguishing between what is circumstantial and what is fundamental.

The decision to expand the jurisdictions of local communes calls for objective debate independent of circumstantial analysis so that the historical nature of this measure may be understood.

#### Intermixing Politics and Economics

In response to the question, "Why expand the jurisdictions of communes?", the document says:

The project to assign additional jurisdictions to the local communes is due to three principal reasons:

- Initiating a new stage of decentralization by raising local-commune responsibility to the highest levels.
- Gradual easing of burdens of a local nature which are shouldered by the state and which the local community can undertake.
- Ensuring the best services at the lowest cost while preserving public interest.

The expansion of local jurisdictions is based on a clear logic that harmoniously combines political realities with the requirements of economic and financial restructuring. The matter here concerns following the process of establishing democracy and decentralization and relieving the central departments of matters that can be done better locally.

#### Basic Stipulations

The document states that:

- Assigning new responsibilities to local communes cannot be achieved without certain conditions, in that its success inevitably calls for an accurate definition of the powers given and evaluation of the transferred liabilities and their sources of financing.
- The new and extremely sensitive responsibilities shouldered by the local communes should not be ignored nor should the diversified nature of the local communes and their ability to more or less adapt to the size of the new responsibilities.

The basic guarantee lies in respecting the following principle, that "no new responsibilities can be assigned without providing the necessary means." Since the lack of these means would negatively affect the basic and primary nature of these sectors and would strongly impact on the local finances. It would also influence the significant development the local communes experienced in recent years.

The basic stipulations necessary to apply this project can be summed up in two points:

- Definition of the tasks assigned: their nature, volume, the exact role of each public community in case of joint responsibility, relations of public or private trusteeship, and control system and rules of legislation relating to them, etc.

—Definition of means allocated to cover the new liabilities: the sources of finance (the state, aid, taxes, and special funds).

The requisites of financial balance of payments for 1990 have provided the opportunity to select and prepare the ground for transferring these new tasks by charging the local communes part of the expenses of a local nature deducted from the general state budget allocations.

### Sectors Ceded to Communes

#### Education:

The symposium dealt with the extremely important issue of the transfer of the management of the vital sectors to local communes and to their urban and rural councils. In view of their strategic importance these sectors were mandatorily under the state. Therefore, the communes have become responsible for supervising the operation and completion of school installations and the maintenance of equipment. The central state kept for itself the responsibility for formulating education policy, teaching responsibilities, managing teachers, and monitoring the implementation of the provisions of the journals of commitments..

#### Health

In the field of public health the document suggests the distribution of jurisdictions by giving up supervision of the function of installations, preparing and equipping basic health units, clinics, health centers, maternity hospitals, and rural hospitals, as well as the maintenance of equipment and providing staff transportation and ambulances for local communes. Meanwhile the state will draw up the health policy, manage health units, lay down technical rules, and monitor respect for technical controls of the health structures and equipment.

### Agricultural and Rural Development

In this regard the document notes that requisites of growth development call for greater efforts to revive rural economies and improve their capacities. During recent years the communes have been able to participate in the realization of a number of infrastructures, such as elevated lakes, tree planting, path construction, and rural electrification. These initiatives could be the basis for proceeding toward an even more profitable task, such as the preservation, protection, and development of forests in Morocco.

To this end, the document suggests giving the councils power to set up societies for the administration of work centers, participate in guidance operations, assume some agricultural preparation work and equipment operation, revive village cooperation work, and establish associations for the centers of milk collecting and processing, farming investment, and various agricultural development projects.

It is to be noted that the third symposium on local communes in Morocco, which was held last summer

under the slogan "Trust," allocated to the local-commune fund a budget that is proportional to the efforts that the local communes themselves would make. This is represented in allocating revenues from a new tax called the value-added tax in addition to other local tax revenues, thus creating a nucleus for a bank which would participate in investing local-commune funds and supporting local development projects.

Consequently, endorsement of the said document would constitute a great leap for the experiment of decentralization and self-management in that it is compatible with political plurality which is viewed as the Moroccan yardstick for democracy. However, this is conditional upon maintaining a critical balance for the development of the various communes, including the poor communes that lack resources to cover their expenditures.

### Iraqi Invasion Leads to Rise in Inflation

91AA0181B London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic  
5 Dec 90 p 48

[Article: "Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait Leads to Higher Inflation in Morocco"]

[Text] Due to a higher bill for oil imports, which this year will cost the treasury an additional 2 billion dirhams, oil-product prices in Morocco recently rose 15 percent. This latest increase in oil-product prices is expected to affect the price of various goods and services. However, a pattern of price hikes in the Moroccan market preceded the higher oil product prices, as demonstrated by the considerable rise in the rate of inflation during the second month of the crisis. Ministry of Planning sources reported that last September the cost of living index that covers 210 consumer goods rose from 421.1 to 425.7, an increase of 1.1 percent. Taking into account the 1.3 percent price increase last August, inflation in the first two months of the Gulf crisis went up by 2.4 percent, thereby raising the cost of living during the first nine months of the current year by 6.6 percent, including higher prices for all goods in September. For example, the price of fresh fruit went up about 17 percent; fresh vegetables, 4.6 percent; eggs, 15 percent; and condiments, 5.6 percent. Other prices rose at varying rates: 1 percent, housing; 1.1 percent, heating, electricity, and water; 2 percent, transportation; and 3 percent, shoes and clothing. Hence, the cost of living last September went up a significant 5.5 percent compared to the same month last year.

It is not yet known whether next year's budget plan, approved by the council of government last 23 October, will include measures to cut consumer-goods subsidies as one way to make up for the higher oil bill.

However, given the complaints by businessmen about tax collection procedures under the amended fiscal law, it is unlikely that corporate tax rates will be raised. Should the government choose to cut the subsidy-fund budget, and given the rise in the prices of imported goods

since the outbreak of the Gulf war, oil product prices will go even higher than their latest level.

### **Union Official Says Response to Strike Called 'Good'**

91AA0181C London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
15 Dec 90 pp 1, 4

[Article: "Conflicting Reports on Rate of Participation. Normal Work Routine in Morocco Despite General Strike"]

[Text] Despite the decision of the General Union of Moroccan Workers [UGTM] and the Democratic Confederation of Labor [DCL] to strike, work activity at government offices and Moroccan establishments was normal. Extensive security measures were adopted, but things remained calm, and the strike had a negligible impact on the transportation system, public utilities, and schools and universities in Rabat. Meanwhile, some reports stated that universities in Casablanca were closed for business and the transportation system operated normally even though there were strikes in some facilities and factories.

However, the two leaders of the two labor federations who called for the strike have expressed their satisfaction with the results of the strike. Abderrazzak Afilal, secretary general of the UGTM, told AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that 70 percent of the work force responded to the call to strike and that those who did not were compelled by management not to participate. He pointed out that the strike was highly successful in the public transportation sector and that the rate of participation in the education sector was 100 percent.

He went on to say that there was a high rate of participation in the public works sector, the farming sector, and the fishing sector, adding that the rate of participation in the industrial area in Casablanca was close to 70 percent.

On the other hand, Nobeir Amaoui, secretary general of the DCL, said that, because of the strike, work activity in Casablanca was 70-percent crippled compared to normal days.

In a statement to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, he pointed out that the Moroccan workers' response to the call for the DCL and the UGTM to strike was good in the private sector, explaining that, in those sectors where the Moroccan unions that called for the strike have a presence, the strike was a patent success. He noted that major textile factories that comprise 60 percent of the textile sector had 100-percent participation.

He added that the strike included the oil, gas, sugar, leather, and basic-construction sectors, in addition to the business field, emphasizing that most businessmen contributed to the success of the strike, but pointing out that a number of businessmen were intimidated by certain pressures.

He said that the general strike staged by workers in Casablanca and Fez and other cities in the South and North included the public sector, the mail and transportation fields in particular. He went on to say that participation in the urban transportation sector was 90 percent, noting, however, that in some sectors workers came under government pressure not to participate in the strike.

### **Correspondent Explores Significance of Strikes**

91AA0182B London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic  
26 Dec 90 pp 14-17

[Article by Hatim al-Butaywi]

[Text] Rabat—Observers of Moroccan political and social life paused for a long time before they draw conclusions from the general strike to which the Democratic Confederation of Labor [CDT], loyal to the Socialist Union of the Popular Forces (opposition) [USFP], and the General Union of Moroccan Workers [UGTM], which is dominated by the Independence Party (opposition).

Observers believe that Friday's strike, which was accompanied by incidents of violence and disturbances in Fes, Tangier, and other Moroccan towns, signals a new stage for the first time since the Green March that was organized in 1975—the march that restored the [Western] Sahara to Morocco and turned the question of territorial integrity into a rallying call for national unity. Observers attribute this to the fact that the dispute over the Sahara is on its way to a peaceful solution, and a referendum is to be held in order to settle it finally.

The second conclusion regarding the strike is that it was some kind of a message from the opposition parties to the government and a way of pressuring it to continue to expand the democratic process and be committed to holding honest elections. The opposition parties, through the strike, wanted to lend credence to their political line, particularly since the government will once again be called upon to prepare to face the electors and to put an end to the longest parliamentary experiment Morocco has known in its contemporary history.

But what is the story of the strike and its implications?

Last Friday's strike was the third that the USFP has called for since it was established in November 1978. The first strike was in 30 March 1979 and the second was on 20 June 1981. The third general strike was distinguished by the UGTM's participation in it, since UGTM decided not to participate in the 1981 strike. The Istiqlal Party was then participating in the cabinet of Maati Bouabid by eight ministers. As for the UGTM, the oldest labor union organization in Morocco, it decided not to participate in the recent strike, which was the same attitude it adopted in the 1981 strike.

It is noteworthy that the memorandum these two labor unions submitted to the Moroccan government contained more than 30 demands relating to improving social conditions, increasing wages, and family benefits.

The unions had submitted memos to the Moroccan government similar to that submitted to it on the occasion of the 19 April strike and the memo submitted in 1985 to former prime minister Mohamed Karim Alem-rani.

The opposition parties regard the memo containing the demands a call for halting the policy of social deterioration which Morocco is experiencing.

It is worth noting that, after the two labor unions declared the date of the strike, Moroccan monarch Hassan II set up a government committee consisting of Minister of Labor Hassan Abbadi and Ministerial Delegate for Economic Affairs, Moulay Zine Zahidi to conduct dialogue with all labor unions and economic and social organizations. Prime Minister Dr. Azzedine Laraki announced in one of the government's meetings at the end of last month a royal decree reinstating all public sector employees who were earlier dismissed from their jobs and providing wage payments to those who returned to their jobs.

At the time there was talk about the possibility of instituting royal arbitration between the labor unions and the government in order to curb the heated exchange between the two sides. Moroccan Prime Minister Azzedine Laraki told the Chamber of Deputies that within a week the government will submit figures that will convince everybody that there will be a remarkable rise in wages as well as in family benefits. He said that the government is not against the right to strike and emphasizes dialogue, but it rejects general strikes because they are something wider and constitute a danger.

In response to Dr. Azzedine Laraki's statement, the two unions that called for a general strike renewed their adherence to the strike decision.

At the invitation of the Moroccan prime minister two days before the general strike took place negotiations were held between the CDT and the UGTM and the ministerial committee charged with the negotiations which were described as the "last minute" or the "last opportunity" negotiations.

The first session of the negotiations lasted no less than five hours during which the government tried to persuade the two unions to sort out their demands so as to separate what is urgent and what can be deferred. It also asked them to organize their demands according to their priorities, but the unions refused on the grounds that the demands are a whole and cannot be broken down.

During the second session which lasted until a late hour on Thursday night before the strike, the two unions that called for the strike submitted two types of demands.

The first concerned principled stands regarding the exercise of union rights and the revision of the Moroccan labor law. The second category concerned a list of material demands which were characterized as the minimum to which the government should respond instantly. The government's response was that the material demands do not concern it alone but that some of them are under the jurisdictions of the legislative authorities and the private sector. It considered these demands unreasonable and beyond the government's material resources. Thus the negotiations ended without reaching any positive results.

Despite the fact that leaders of the two unions stressed that they do not wish to create anarchy but to engage in a strike in a civil manner and that the workers are not accustomed to engaging in violent actions, some Moroccan political circles were afraid that some of the major Moroccan towns would witness violent incidents on the day of the strike similar to those that occurred on 20 June 1981.

On the morning of the day of the strike the pace of work was normal in government departments and institutes in Rabat and Casablanca, while Fes, Tangier, Kenitra, Azilal, Meknes, (?Ain Taoujdat), and El-Hajib witnessed disturbances during which a number of people were killed or wounded. The disturbances in Fes were the most serious, for many commercial places, hotels, and buses were set on fire and so was an electric distribution station and some bank branches.

The following day there were conflicting reports on whether or not the strike was successful. While government departments said that the response to the strike call was partial in some sectors and that it ranged between 40 and 60 percent in the higher education sector, that disturbances occurred in the University of Fes and 40 to 50 percent of the municipalities which are dominated by the Socialist Union of Popular Forces [USFP] and the Istiqlal parties supported the general strike decision. The two striking unions announced in a press release that the rate of response to the strike exceeded 80 percent in the most important production institutes in the industrial and commercial sectors and the rest of the basic sectors such as the public sector and semipublic sector.

Following this statement, two other statements were issued in which the two unions held the government responsible for the outbreak of incidents in Fes and other Moroccan cities, saying that security forces in Fes used tanks and aircraft in order to stop demonstrations and besiege the town. A number of trade unionists were also arrested.

Later the CDT and the UGTM held a press conference at which they did not preclude the possibility of declaring another general strike in case unionist demands are not met. Leaders of the two unions released names of some of those who were killed during incidents in Fes and Tangier.

Abdelrazzak Afilal attributed the development of events in Fes to the authorities resorting to breaking the strike by bringing pressure on workers and employees, particularly in the transportation sector. On the other hand the Istiqlal Party and USFP party (opposition) called for setting up an investigation committee and held the government responsible for what happened.

In light of these developments, the government convened the parliament in an open session in order to hear its statement on the events that occurred in Morocco during the strike. Prime Minister Azzedine Laraki proposed setting up a fact-finding committee to investigate recent events consisting of representatives from the executive and the legislative bodies. The committee chairmanship has been assigned to Judge Mohamed Mico, secretary general of the Consultative Council for Human Rights.

The Moroccan parliament meeting opened with an argument about coverage of the parliament session in the official media, with the opposition requesting that all debates be broadcast and disseminated as they are. After the prime minister's statement the opposition objected to the ministers' statements, while leaders of the majority bloc defended the government's right to make explanatory statements complementing the prime minister's statement. Thus the Chamber of Deputies entered into a debate regarding procedural matters stipulated in Article 104 of the Chamber's statute. But Chamber of Deputies Speaker Ahmed Osman resolved the matter by giving a number of ministers the opportunity to speak.

Minister of Interior and Information Driss Basri said that the call for a strike had other reasons and motives that will be revealed later. He said the government will release the information concerning human and material losses when all investigations are completed so that public opinion in Morocco and abroad will know what happened, especially in the town of Fes.

Basri accused quarters which he did not name as being in collusion with foreign media quarters.

The rest of the ministers stressed in their statements that the strike failed and did not affect the sectors which they oversee.

The Moroccan deputies' discussion of the prime minister's and ministers' statements was characterized by the outbreak of altercations between the majority and the minority deputies and the exchange of accusations as to who was responsible for the incidents that occurred on the day of strike. The opposition leaders did not conceal their resentment of the government's statements because they were expecting it to give them the real reasons that have led to the incidents, the real number of the dead, wounded, and missing persons, and the real extent of losses. They also protested against the manner by which the fact-finding committee has been set up, accusing the government of being involved in the incidents, in other

words being a party to them and, therefore, it cannot be the arbiter. They proposed setting up an alternative committee.

The atmosphere that prevailed in the debate was one of heated exchange between some of the majority deputies and the opposition deputies, particularly deputies belonging to the Constitutional Union Party [CU] (majority) and the Istiqlal (opposition), turning the debate into one of settling political scores between the two parties. Meanwhile, the other majority parties, especially the National Assembly of Independents [RNI] headed by Chamber of Deputies Speaker Ahmed Osman, remained quiet.

Concluding, the prime minister spoke about the reasons for the strike's failure, pointing out that the ideas put forward by the opposition during the meeting are unreasonable and are brought up on every occasion, whether when the financial law is discussed, when submitting oral questions, or when calling for controlling the government.

In light of the above, it can be said that the Friday strike, coming eight months after the submission of the petition for control (withdrawal of confidence)—the second in the history of contemporary Morocco—against Prime Minister Dr. Azzedine Laraki's government was tantamount to a continuation of the clash between the government and the opposition, which intensified in recent years but which this time was more costly.

#### Writer Comments on Freedom of Press

91AA0181A Rabat AL-'ALAM in Arabic 2 Dec 90 p 2

[Article by Muhammad Najib Kuminah: "Media: Freedom of the Press? Freedom of Journalists?"]

[Text] The relationship between government officials and administrators and the news media and newsmen reflect the real nature of democratic development, both in countries that enjoy true democracy and those living in the predemocracy age where democracy is lagging behind or is nonexistent. For the quality of such a relationship demonstrates the willingness or unwillingness of society's caretakers to inform society of the facts that are important to it—all the facts without censorship, ban, injunction, or blackout—with a view to running the public business with clarity and transparency in such a way as to allow those citizens who are cognizant of political, economic, societal, and cultural affairs to actually crystallize or influence the course of the decision-making process and, consequently, to debate decisions whether for or against.

So far we have talked in the absolute, or rather in terms of a model image of an unquestionably model democracy. For, in the more advanced democracies, this model image cuts through complex relations circumscribed at a certain point by balances of power as well as by structures and persons distinguished by certain qualities.

The constants of democracy, however, remain unchanged.

All Moroccan journalists and all journalists in the democratically backward Third World countries, who have a chance to mingle with their colleagues in democratic countries while they pursue their work and various relationships with their country's politicians, administrators, and others, inevitably experience a democratic shock, no matter how out of touch they might be with their environment. They discover the difference, which can be measured in light years, between the presence or absence of democracy.

There, a journalist practices his profession without dread, without fear of reprisal, without turning on the self-censorship mechanisms in a morbid fashion, or without fear of censors who are always ready to pounce in order to regain their role which they will never forsake. There, a journalist practices his profession with pride because society and government view his calling as an essential element in the realization of democratic equilibrium and the maintenance and advancement of democracy. He is not subjected to any open or veiled attempts by any official or any intelligence agency to control him. He knows that the professional medium in which he moves and works protects itself against penetrations that tend to infringe upon his freedom or the pursuit of his profession by invoking professional standards and professional conscience. There, officials hold journalists in high esteem. They respect their important societal role and seek to establish an equitable relationship with them based on the principle of supplying them with news and information and making their job easier instead of placing obstacles in their way and closing the doors in their faces.

Here, a journalist is always afraid to report the bare facts, he is afraid to use appropriate words to express his views, and he is afraid to point out the proper solutions to existing problems for fear of paying the price of allowing himself to exercise his freedom and let his conscience be his guide so long as he feels the censor's presence, even when he is not there and senses that things are not what they seem to be. He knows that he does not practice his profession in an atmosphere of democracy and that his profession is not recognized as a medium that plays a true role in attaining democratic equilibrium because democracy here comes in various loose forms and he is expected to echo merely the same voice using a different and disguised voice. He knows that his professional medium is penetrated by various security agencies, that it is controlled by all sorts of government or security officials, and that it is permeated by graft, temptations, and polarization to corrupt the profession and to curtail freedom from the inside before the outside. He knows that officials here have no respect for the press because they do not believe in the principle of democracy and are not afraid of democratic oversight, be it by the press, the establishments, or the citizens. Rather, they believe that they are above everyone else and that they have power over everyone, which they can exercise when and how

they please to put a stop to any practice built on democracy because, so far as they are concerned, that represents an excess or trouble and is subject to the "anything that tends to" law that was retained following independence.

Accordingly, no government official and no administrator here can deal with the press and with journalists by giving them the news, the information, and the documents they need to do their job and fulfill their journalistic mission. And, if they did, it would be in the realm of a relationship so dubious as to be suspect. It is common knowledge that some journalists who sell out to a certain side get what they ask for and what they do not ask for and that a green newspaper the color of the petrodollar gets the Moroccan scoop pertaining to matters that are of greater concern to Moroccans than to anyone else. But, opposition newspapers, which are always viewed with foreboding, and opposition journalists face not only closed doors but are also denied access to official documents so generously distributed to the desirable newspapers and, in many cases, as a form of punishment or retribution, access to documents they used to obtain in a routine fashion.

That is why journalists practice their profession in an atmosphere of true democracy and this is how they do it in an atmosphere of democratic backwardness. If we were to present all the differences between the two atmospheres, the picture would be more shocking. Therefore, we chose only to demonstrate in general terms so as not to stir up feelings beyond our capacity to manage.

Ultimately, the difference is of a clear civilizational dimension, and democracy is civilizational by necessity.

## REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

### Presidential Council Appointments Announced

91AE0255A Sanaa AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 27 Dec 90  
p 3

[Text] Resolution No. 19 of 1990 of the Presidential Council has been promulgated regarding the appointment of a number of advisors to the bureau of the Presidential Council, who are:

1. Lutf al-Kullabi, with his grade
2. 'Abd-al-Jalil Tahir, with his grade
3. Dr. 'Abdallah al-Khamiri, with his grade
4. Nasr Nasir 'Ali, with his grade
5. Ahmad Hasan Sabrah, with his grade
6. Ahmad 'Abd-al-Wahhab al-Faysali, with his grade
7. 'Abdallah Maqbul al-Sayqal, with his grade
8. Dr. 'Abd-al-Warith 'Abd-al-Mughanni, with his grade

9. 'Abdallah Muhammad al-Ra'i, with his grade
10. Sa'id al-Janahi, with the grade of minister
11. 'Umar al-Jawi, with the grade of minister
12. Dr. 'Abd-al-Rahman 'Abdallah, with the grade of minister
13. 'Izz-al-Din Kashshar, with his grade
14. 'Abdallah 'Ali al-Sharafi, with the grade of minister
15. Sa'id Muhammad al-Abi, with his grade
16. 'Abd-al-Rahman Muhammad Sa'id, with his grade
17. 'Abd-al-Wahhab al-Shamahi, with his grade
18. Dr. 'Abdallah al-Khumaysi, with his grade
19. Mansur Sayf Mash'al, with his grade
20. Naji 'Uthman, with his grade
21. 'Abd-al-'Aziz Muhammad Sa'id, with his grade
22. 'Abdallah al-Zubayri, with the grade of deputy minister
23. Dr. Salih al-Shawki, with the grade of deputy minister
24. 'Izzat Amin Nu'man, with his grade
25. 'Abd-al-Qadir Hashim, with his grade
26. 'Abdallah al-Tihami, with his grade
27. Hasan Salih al-Khawlani, with the grade of deputy minister
28. Husayn Muhammad al-Jahdari, with the grade of deputy minister
29. 'Abdallah Muhammad Hamid, with the grade of deputy minister

#### 1991 Ministry Appointments Announced

91AE0251A Sanaa AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 3 Jan 91  
pp 1-2

[Article: "Presidential Appointments"]

[Text] Presidential Decree No. 1 for 1991, regarding appointments to the Ministry of Interior and Security and its units was enacted yesterday. After the preamble, the decree provides for the following:

#### Article 1

The following brothers shall be appointed to the positions listed after their names:

1. Colonel Muhammad 'Abdallah Salih: Chief, Central Security.

2. Staff Colonel 'Abd-al-Malik 'Abdallah al-Tayyib: Deputy chief, Central Security.
3. Colonel Fadl Muhsin al-Minshali: General staff, Central Security.
4. Colonel Rashid Ahmad Husayn: Commissioner, Ministry of Interior and Security branch office in Aden Province.
5. Colonel 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Shahizi: Assistant commissioner, Ministry of Interior and Security branch office in Aden Province.
6. Colonel Muhsin 'Abdallah Mashajari: Commissioner of Immigration, Passport and Nationalization Service.
7. Colonel Yahya Ahmad al-Kassar: Commissioner of prisons.
8. Ahmad Sa'id al-Haddi: Commissioner, Civic Affairs and Vital Statistics Service.

#### Article 2

This decree shall be put into effect as of the date of its enactment and shall be published in the Official Gazette.

Issued at the Presidential Office, Sanaa, 16 Jamad Akhar 1411 AH, 2 January 1991.

Haydar Abu-Bakr al-'Attas, prime minister

Lieutenant General 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih, chairman of the Presidential Council

Presidential Decree No. 2 for 1991 was also issued yesterday regarding appointments to the General Establishments of Radio and Television. After the preamble, it provided for the following:

#### Article 1

The following brothers shall be appointed to the General Establishments of Radio and Television positions listed after their names:

1. 'Ali Ahmad Ishaq: Television sector chief, Channel One, with the rank of undersecretary.
2. Fadi Mutallaq 'Abdallah: Television sector chief, Channel Two, with the rank of undersecretary.
3. Ahmad Muhammad al-Nubi: Radio sector chief, Program Two, with the rank of undersecretary.
4. 'Abdallah 'Umar Bil-Faqih: Radio sector chief, Program Two, with the rank of undersecretary.
5. Husayn Ahmad Muqbil: Engineering sector chief, with the rank of undersecretary.
6. 'Abd-al-Salam Ahmad al-Aryani: Administrative and fiscal affairs sector chief, with the rank of undersecretary.

7. 'Abd-al-Rahman Shahir 'Abd-al-Rahman: Commercial sector chief, with the rank of undersecretary.

#### Article 2

This decree shall be put into effect as of the date of its enactment and shall be published in the Official Gazette.

Issued at the Presidential Office, Sanaa, 16 Jamad Akhar, 1411 AH, 2 January 1991.

Haydar Abu-Bakr 'Attas, prime minister

Lieutenant General 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih, Chairman of the Presidential Council

A third presidential decree, No. 3 for 1991, was issued yesterday for the appointment of advisors to the prime minister. After the preamble, it provided for the following:

#### Article 1

The following brothers shall be appointed as advisors to the prime minister, as follows:

1. Anis Hasan Yahya: Same rank.
2. Dr. Muhammad 'Ali al-Shahari: Minister's rank.
3. Judge 'Ali al-Sharafi: Minister's rank.
4. Ahmad 'Abd-al-'Aziz: Same rank.
5. 'Abd-al-Wahid Ghalib al-Muradi: Same rank.
6. Husayn al-Hamzah: Same rank.
7. Ahmad Qasim Dammaj: Same rank.

#### Article 2

This decree shall be put into effect as of the date of its enactment and shall be published in the Official Gazette.

Issued at the Presidential Office, Sanaa, 16 Jamad Akhar, 1411 AH, 2 January 1991.

Haydar Abu-Bakr al-'Attas, prime minister

Lieutenant General 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih, chairman of the Presidential Council

### Violent Protest Against Socialist Party Headquarters

91AE0251B Aden SAWT AL-'UMMAL in Arabic  
3 Jan 91 pp 1-2

[Article: "Jabal Habashi Chieftains Meet Opening of Yemeni Socialist Party Headquarters With a Fire Barrage that Caused Injuries"]

[Text] Last Friday, under a barrage of fire directed at citizens that caused some injuries and damaged many houses and cars, the headquarters of the Yemeni Socialist [YSP] party was opened in Jabal Habashi in Ta'izz Province at al-Maratabah (Kazam) subdistrict in the presence of a number of province committee members, party members, and citizens from the subdivision and neighboring subdivisions and subdistricts.

The YSP headquarters in Ta'izz had received advance information that area chieftains opposed the opening of the party's headquarters. It was learned later that they and some of their groups had taken over some hills on opening day and blocked off the road with rocks and cars, firing on the citizens' procession. Party leaders who were able to get to the subdivision and reach the headquarters to perform the opening ceremony came under continual fire and some of them were injured. Bullets penetrated many of their homes, creating a state of fear and terror among women and children.

Eyewitnesses said that even though bullets were hitting the ceremony site and citizens faced a barrage of fire from various kinds of weapons, the opening ceremony, which included speeches and a luncheon, proceeded without interruption and the people kept pouring in to attend it.

On the other hand, reports revealed that there was a determination to go ahead with the opening ceremony and ignore the shooting even if it led to some deaths.

Competent authorities in the province had received advance notice of attempts by some chieftains to oppose the opening ceremony, and they were asked to beef up security, but they failed to act. On their part, citizens say that those who were behind the opposition and shooting were Shaykh 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Wali al-Hammudi, Shaykh Ghalib Bin-Ghalib Hazzam, Shaykh Ahmad 'Abd-al-Wasi' 'Abd-al-Jabbar, Shaykh Shukri Ahmad 'Abd-al-Jabbar, and other groups under their control.

## BANGLADESH

### Hopes Expressed for Genuine Democracy

#### Upcoming Election Seen As Severe Test

91AS0382A Dhaka SANGBAD in Bengali 23 Dec 90 p 4

[Editorial: "The Coming Election: Democracy's Trial By Fire"]

[Text] For the first time a constitutional change in government has presaged a triumph for democracy.

Three political [party] alliances and students had demanded the formation of a sovereign parliament under a nonparty, neutral caretaker government. The realization of that demand has paved the way for a transition to democracy.

The fall of a dictatorial government does not automatically usher in a democratic framework. The three political coalitions, in their future course of action, should keep this in mind.

The caretaker government has announced the schedule for elections. Those who have so far been struggling for democracy now face the crucial test of practicing democracy. Establishment of democracy was the underlying objective of the independence movement, and that democracy can flower and endure only through a multi-party system. It is not enough to express support for democracy. Our political coalitions, known as harbingers of democracy, should prove that in action.

The political parties that united to oust dictatorship and rescue democracy are now responsible for placing it on a firm foundation. But that is a different ball game.

The political parties—especially the three political coalitions and the all-party student group—faced the dictatorial regime while retaining faith in their different political philosophies. The unity and forbearance they have demonstrated and the peaceful democratic movement they carried on in the face of various provocations and temptations certainly has increased [public] consciousness about democratic values.

Still, they ought to remember that their conduct in the parliamentary elections that are meant to establish a democratic system of government will show whether people's aspirations will be fulfilled, whether they can prove worthy of democracy.

For that, the three coalitions should follow the promises they made during the movement against dictatorship, the pledges they gave the people.

Certainly, on the campaign trail and during the voting, they should follow a set of guidelines to show respect for democratic values and help conduct the elections according to the democratic procedure.

They should not lend indulgence to any terrorist activities designed to show the strength of their parties. It cannot be argued now that armed hoodlums have been unleashed by outside forces. Those who used to protect and nurture them inside and outside a political party are now out of power. They [the hoodlums] can no longer summon financial and administrative support.

The competing parties and coalitions should suppress the proclivity to thwart the campaigns of their rivals.

The three coalitions must pledge to refrain from capitalizing on religiosity and religious emotions. The dictatorship, in its final days, had tried to play on communal differences to fuel [communal] hatred. Popular resistance and contempt frustrated their designs.

The reckless labeling of "foreign agents," as was done in Pakistan and under the dictatorship, should be avoided. That cannot be justified as criticism of rivals and would only vitiate public minds. Time and again reactionaries have used that old tactic during campaigns. Patriotism is not the monopoly of any political party or individual. Hence, without proof nobody should be called a foreign agent.

Nobody's patriotism should be questioned without substantiation. Democracy cannot be established and democratic values fostered by whipping up people's base prejudices. During the vote, steps should be taken to prevent the use of force, brandishing weapons, and stealing or burning ballot boxes. The three coalitions should reach an understanding not to allow such activities. In the past these things occurred and rival parties blamed each other. Of course, the dictator got rid of the vote itself.

No political party should indulge in political vendetta and the associates of the dictator should not be allowed to foil the democratic atmosphere through rumor or deception. Chaos or intolerance could foil the creation of a democratic government as the need to restore normalcy may be cited to impose an extraconstitutional government. The three coalitions and the students should remain alert about this.

At this moment, it is essential to form a sovereign, democratically elected government that is answerable to the people. The three coalitions have pledged to work together to establish a sovereign parliament.

The three coalitions should also promise not to indulge in conspiratorial politics. The urge to grab power by hook or by crook leads to conspiratorial politics and encourages political assassinations. For a long time, these practices prevailed at the connivance of a dictatorship. The parties in the three coalitions have by now left those bitter days behind and are able to breathe freely.

In the upcoming elections, the three coalitions should keep the policies, principles, and programs of their parties before them and hope to form governments in the usual electoral process. But it is essential for them to

reach an understanding about general principles and guidelines before going out on the campaign trail. We cannot assume that democracy has been established. Hence we need to have a clear idea of how to go about practicing democracy and make it a permanent form of governance. Democracy means behaving in the same manner as I would expect others to treat me. There is no better way to define it. To qualify it with adjectives amounts to the negation of democracy.

### Democracy's Establishment Still in Doubt

91AS0382B Dhaka SANGBAD in Bengali 26 Dec 90 p 4

[Article by Matiur Rahman: "Democracy: The Swing Between Hope and Despair"]

[Text] After the celebrations of the fall of the Ershad dictatorship the country has largely returned to normalcy. It is three weeks since Acting President Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed and his advisers have begun their work. Initiatives have been taken in law enforcement and other fields. Under popular pressure, former President [Hussein Mohammad] Ershad and his wife have been arrested. Also arrested are his friend Zeenat and other associates. Others have not yet been taken into custody. They are in hiding. That has created resentment in political and other quarters. Yet we must admit that the government under the acting president is playing an important role in a difficult and complex situation and in the midst of various pulls and pressures. They are trying to show respect for public opinion and yet maintain a balance [between political forces]. We must remember that the interim government will last only for a few months. They cannot solve the problems accumulating for a long time. That is not their job either. That does not mean they will sit idle. They will certainly tackle the urgent problems that need to be addressed and carry on the day-to-day administration.

However, the main job of the interim government is to hold free and impartial elections within 90 days. For that purpose, the government has taken steps that include the announcement of an election date, appointment of a new chief election commissioner, expansion of the Election Commission and hiring of returning officers. It certainly is a big task for an interim government to hold an election in a short time. It is a great responsibility. All political parties who fought for democracy and other political forces should give all-out support and help the interim government.

The announcement of the election date by the acting president has touched off nationwide election campaigns. Of course, even before that, soon after the fall of the Ershad government, various parties had become active. The BNP [Bangladesh Nationalist Party] had called for nomination papers even before the election date was announced. Meanwhile, they have launched a full-scale campaign. They have announced the names of candidates for different areas. Even posters bearing paddy sheaves [BNP election symbol] have come out.

BNP leader Khaleda Zia has indicated her party would win and form the government. That has surprised many. Many have wondered what could be the basis of such optimism at the beginning [of the campaign]. It has been reliably learned, though, that the BNP has talked with five organizations—both supporters and opponents of independence. They include the five-party coalition, the Jama'at-i-Islami, the alliance led by the Muslim League (Ainuddin), and even the Democratic Chhatra Shibir led by Comrade Mehdi. It is being noticed that they have been maintaining contact with all parties other than the Awami League or the eight-party alliance. Nationwide, they are organizationally weak. They also do not have too many candidates who can be elected.

The country's largest political party, the Awami League, launched its election campaign a little after the BNP. It has been learned that the Awami League leadership is willing to participate in the elections as part of the eight-party coalition. However, a formal discussion of it has not yet begun. Meanwhile, three of the eight parties in the coalition—the CPB [Communist Party of Bangladesh], Democratic Party and NAP [National Awami Party]—have proposed that the elections be held on the basis of an understanding between the three coalitions that spearheaded the anti-Ershad movement. They say "democratic reconstruction" requires a postelection government based on the participation or understanding among the three alliances. This view is shared by many outside these political parties. The Awami League has not yet taken a formal position or made any public comments about this. The Awami League leadership has said it will participate in the elections on the basis of the eight-party alliance. However, problems could arise on the question of distributing seats among the Awami League and its coalition partners. It happened during the 1986 elections. The reason: The Awami League has candidates in just about every constituency in the country. Other parties, too, will be looking into their party interests and try to put up as many candidates as they can.

One thing must be noted here, and it is that the upcoming elections will split the country's political forces into two camps. The one is the public opinion built around the Awami League-led eight-party coalition. This pro-independence force would want to restore parliamentary democracy. On the other hand, a BNP-centered combination of forces that defended the change [of the Awami League regime] that occurred in 1975 may evolve a different platform. The main target of their attack will be the Awami League and its record while in power. The BNP already has started saying that if they [the Awami Leaguers] win the elections, the country's independence and sovereignty will be imperiled.

Even though the fall of the dictatorial Ershad regime has been followed by arrangements for new elections under a caretaker government, misgivings linger among people of different strata of the country. Questions persist whether, after 20 years of vicissitudes, a stable democratic government will be established, whether the main

political parties and coalitions can take realistic roles now and in the future, whether they all can abide by a common code of conduct, and so on. Because of these questions, many people think that the various parties and coalitions that led the anti-Ershad movement should reach an understanding on certain basic questions to clean up the mess created during the past decade and a half and usher in a stable and democratic government beneficial to the people. No one will dispute the fact that fostering democracy is a long-term enterprise. True, different parties have different views at this point. Yet there is the need for a national consensus on the institutional and constitutional framework of democracy. Without such a consensus, it will be difficult to establish, preserve, and foster democracy. For that, the forces that led the struggle should reach a prior agreement on the character of democracy and a framework that is suitable for the country. Apparently, the three coalitions are having some discussions about it. But they are having difficulty getting very far with the discussions. That, of course, is natural. The three coalitions have different perspectives on the problems of the past, present, and future. There are no easy solutions to them. For that, it is necessary to show respect for people's aspirations and make sincere efforts for their solution. Maybe that feeling has prompted the various political parties to announce different goals and plans.

Now it is becoming clear to us that because of the prolonged dictatorial rule people have been deprived of basic rights and opportunities. Even though the constitution that was framed after independence had democratic features, its democratic character was lost due to capricious amendments made by subsequent regimes. The democratic institutions were destroyed. The same applies to the judiciary. The governments made the media—especially the radio, television, and some of the newspapers—instruments of one-sided propaganda. At the local and national levels, elections were rendered a farce. Hence it is generally said that a democratic system cannot be built soon after the fall of a dictatorship. The revolution has merely removed the obstacle before that goal, which should be gradually achieved. All government and nongovernment institutions were crushed under the steamroller of dictatorship. Those need to be rebuilt now.

The leadership of the three coalitions that led the last upheaval are aware of this. It is reflected in their 19 November announcement that proclaims that a sovereign parliament produced by free and impartial elections is the central goal of the movement. In clear terms it means that the upcoming elections will be followed by the restoration of parliamentary democracy. To do so the constitution has to be amended. Naturally, to carry through the amendments, the three coalitions need to reach an understanding. The five- and eight-party coalitions appear to have reached an understanding about it. They have long been pressing this demand. However, the BNP has not yet expressed any opinion. It has been learned from time to time that a majority in the BNP

favor a parliamentary system. But we have not had any proof of it as yet. At a recent interview with a group of Indian reporters, BNP leader Khaleda Zia has indirectly reiterated her plea for a presidential system. From that one may suspect that, despite its commitment to a parliamentary system during the height of the movement, the BNP is perhaps reneging on it. That would lead to a constitutional crisis after the elections and create frustration among the public.

After the momentous antidictatorship struggle, the people naturally expect that the forces that participated in the movement will reach a consensus on the present and future course of actions to carry the nation forward toward true democracy. It is a sign of hope that the three anti-Ershad coalitions meet almost every day. In these meetings, both the current election problems and the far-reaching future issues come up for discussions. They ponder not just a code of conduct meant for the elections, but also the economic and political problems that will follow. However, those discussions do not reflect seriousness. Yet time is running fast. After two weeks the campaign will start in full swing, and there will be no opportunity to think about it. What is most important is not which party will come out ahead in these discussions, but how to establish a consensus among the forces in the movement to uproot the dictatorial tradition and build democratic institutions. That can be achieved on the basis of the 19 November joint declaration of the eight-, seven-, and five-party coalitions stipulating the removal of the Ershad dictatorship, election of a sovereign parliament under a nonparty interim government and transfer of power to it [the parliament].

Ever since the Pakistani days, the people of Bangladesh have fought many battles for democracy. For democracy's sake, that struggle became an armed struggle in 1971. Twenty years have elapsed since the triumph of that struggle, but a democratic system could not be established yet. The people have long been repressed under dictatorial rule. Today an opportunity has been created for the restoration of a truly democratic system. Behind that lies the story of people's relentless struggle, bloodshed, and sacrifices. Everybody hopes that all of that will not prove to have been in vain. The forces of the movement and their leadership should give top priority to those aspirations shared by their countrymen from all strata of society.

## Reports on Election Preparations, Rules

### Control of Expenses

91AS0570A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 10 Jan 91 p 1

[Text] The relevant article of the Representation of the People Order 1972 has been amended to control the election expenses with the provisions of severe punishment for violating the prescribed limit of election expenses of the candidates contesting the national polls. The total election expenses of a candidate excluding the

personal election expenses, shall not exceed Taka [Tk] 3 lakh as has been provided as per provisions of the amended article, according to a Press release issued by Election Commission on Wednesday.

The personal election expense of a candidate shall not exceed Taka 5,000 under the amended article, the Press release added.

Every contesting candidate will have to submit a statement in the prescribed form of the probable sources of funds to meet his election expenses, to the returning officer within seven days from the date of withdrawal date. The submission of a statement of the candidate's assets, liabilities, annual income and expenditure, and if he is an income-tax assessee, a copy of the income-tax return last submitted by him is also required under the provisions of law, the Election Commission said. One copy of each of these statements and income tax return shall have to be sent to the Election Commission by registered post at the time of their submission to the Returning Officer.

Every election agent of a contesting candidate will be required to submit to the Returning Officer, a return of election expenses in the prescribed form within 15 days after the publication of the name of the elected candidates in the official Gazette. A copy of such statement has to be sent to the Election Commission by registered post, the Election Commission said.

A person shall be punishable with rigorous imprisonment for a term, which may extend to seven years and will not be less than two years and also with fine, if he is found guilty for violating the amended provisions of the law relating to election expenses for election to Jatiya Sangsad. The aforesaid return has to be furnished by an affidavit sworn separately by the contesting candidate and his election agent, the Election Commission Press release said.

It may be mentioned here that before the amendment the personal expenses ceiling of a candidate was fixed at Tk 2,000 and election expenses at Tk 1 lakh only.

### **Punishment for Corruption**

91AS0570B Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 14 Jan 91 p 10

[Text] The Election Commission Saturday night amended the relevant articles of the People's Order 1972 to make stiffer the provisions of punishment for corruption and crimes regarding to elections in the parliamentary polls, according to a press release, reports BSS.

Under the amended provisions punishment for election corruption and the activities considered as crimes are as follows.

A. Under the amended provision, punishment has been raised to maximum seven years and minimum two years rigorous imprisonment with fines in cases, any candidate found to be guilty for exceeding the limit of fixed

electioneering expenditure, exchange of bribes, forgery or illegal influence, spread of rumours and false information in the election campaign, hiring or leading or use of transport for bringing the voters in the polling centres other than oneself or his/her family members or to force any voter waiting in the polling centre to leave it without casting vote or to compel them to leave the polling centre etc.

B. Provision of punishment has been raised to maximum seven years and minimum two years rigorous imprisonment in case with fines, any candidate failed to submit the return of election expenditure in time, to taking cooperation of any government official or employee for influencing in the polls, attempting to caste vote despite not being eligible for voting, casting of more than one vote or taking out ballot paper outside the polling centre etc.

The press release said that provision has been made enhancing punishment up to maximum seven years and minimum two years imprisonment with fine in case of violation of the ban on holding all kinds of meetings and processions within 48 hours since the midnight before elections date.

All sorts of election ring are prohibited within the radius of 400 [as published] been made stipulating maximum punishment of three years, and minimum six months imprisonment with fines in cases if the restriction is violated.

Provisions for maximum punishment of three years and minimum six months jail with fine in cases for activities like use of loud speaker around the polling centre or use of any other equipment which would create loud bans or continuous shouting which might disturb the voters and officials engaged in voting centres.

Provisions for giving maximum five years and minimum one year jail with fines has been made if anybody attempts to create disturbances during casting vote, or tries to gather information from any voter whom he will vote for or whom he voted for or disclose the gathered information outside the polling centre.

If any Returning Officer, Assistant Returning Officer, or any officials engaged in polling or any candidate or his (her) election agent or polling agent leak out any information by breaking the secrecy of polling the provision for punishment has been enhanced to maximum five years and minimum one year imprisonment with fines.

If any Returning Officer, Assistant Returning or any official or employee engaged in polling or any member of law enforcing agencies instigate any vote for casting vote or creates any pressure on the voter to influence the election result, provision for punishment has been increased to maximum five years and minimum one year imprisonment in cases with fines.

If any government employee tries to influence election result abusing his official capacity in those cases they

could be given maximum five years and minimum one year imprisonment with fines.

If any Returning Officers, Assistant Returning Officers, Polling Officer or employees or any other official or employee engaged in election duty fail in his duty or show any neglect then they would be awarded one year imprisonment of fine or Taka 5 thousands or both as punishment.

### Observers Welcome

91AS0570C Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 17 Jan 91 pp 1, 10

[Text] Presidential Adviser on Foreign Affairs Fakhruddin Ahmed Wednesday said Bangladesh would welcome any number of foreign observers to oversee the coming parliamentary polls scheduled for 27 February, reports BSS.

"We will welcome anybody from any quarter to oversee the holding of the elections," Mr Ahmed told the members of Overseas Correspondents Association, Bangladesh (OCAB) at a briefing in Dhaka Wednesday at the National Press Club.

Referring to the visit of former U.S. President Jimmy Carter as an observer to oversee the country's polls, the foreign adviser said, "we will certainly welcome if Mr Jimmy Carter wants to come."

He said so far three teams of observers were likely to come to Bangladesh during the polls and they are a team from SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation], the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the Commonwealth Observer team.

Mr Ahmed said the secretary general of the Commonwealth is in touch with respective countries and a team might be formed by the end of this month or the first week of next month.

The OCAB President Zaglul A. Chowdhury presided over the occasion. Foreign Secretary Abul Ahsan, Bangladesh Ambassador to Iraq M.R. Osmany and Bangladesh Ambassador to Kuwait K.M. Shehabuddin were present.

Mr Fakhruddin Ahmed said, besides a team from European Parliament and another team comprising Japanese Parliamentary members have shown interest to come to oversee the elections.

Referring to the Gulf crisis, he said Bangladesh has consistently welcomed all peace efforts aimed at ending the crisis. He expressed the hope that peace could be found and the crisis be solved without confrontation. "There is, however, no deadline for peace," he told a questioner.

About the presence of Bangladeshi troops in Saudi Arabia, the Foreign Adviser said "our troops are there

purely on defensive purposes. So the question of their involvement other than for defence does not arise," he asserted.

Mr Fakhruddin Ahmed said there would be no change in the foreign policy regarding the Gulf situation. Governments change but the foreign policy usually goes on, he added.

He said there are about 3,000 Bangladeshi nationals living in Kuwait and about 300 to 350 in Iraq. They are staying there on their own, he said.

The Foreign Adviser said persons appointed to the posts created in different missions abroad for personal reasons were being called back. He said the ambassador in Paris has resigned and the permanent representative to the United Nations has been called back.

He said the professionals in the Foreign Office had suffered a lot during the nine years rule of Ershad.

We are making some recommendations on the basis of principles so that future government can take actions, he told a questioner.

Asked about the bilateral problems between Bangladesh and India, Mr Ahmed said secretary-level talks on the sharing of the Ganges water was supposed to be held in November last year. Our respective high commissioners have been asked to maintain contact on the issue.

On the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Mr Ahmed said the position is much better now. "We have suggested to those who live in the camps in India to come back since this is the best time to settle and contribute their might to the nation-building activities," he said.

### District Council Duties

91AS0570D Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 19 Jan 91 p 10

[Text] The acting president had promulgated an Ordinance giving the Union Parishads and Pourashavas certain special responsibilities for maintaining law and order during the coming parliamentary elections with a view to ensuring free and fair elections. An official handout said on Friday, reports BSS.

The Ordinance, entitled "The Union Parishad and Purashava (Special Responsibilities) Ordinance, 1991," requires of the Union Parishads and Pourashavas of the country to perform certain special responsibilities, within their respective jurisdictions, to maintain law and order during the parliamentary polls.

The Ordinance empowers the government to dissolve any Union Parishad or Pourashava in the event of its failure to perform any of these responsibilities.

Under the Ordinance, the Union Parishads and Pourashavas will be required to perform the following special responsibilities within their respective jurisdictions during the period of parliamentary polls, that is, from

the last day of filing nomination papers for the elections to the 7th day after the polls.

(A) Maintaining law and order; (B) Maintaining liaison with and extending all necessary cooperation to the agencies and officials dealing with the enforcement of law and maintenance of law and order; (C) To resist all unlawful and anti-law-and-order activities and keeping the concerned agencies posted of any such situation; (D) To resist all activities directed against the holding of free, fair and impartial elections and to brief the concerned agencies on such activities.

(E) Close monitoring of free and peaceful holding of election rallies, processions and publicity and to handle elections rallies, processions and publicity and to hand over the persons responsible for disruption of such rallies, processions and publicity to the law enforcing agencies; (F) To take effective steps to resist any attempt to harm or destroy any office, symbol, poster, banner or slogan related to the elections; (G) To identify the manufacturers, carriers or users of illegal arms or explosives and, if they could not be apprehended, to inform the concerned authority about them immediately; and (H) To resist any attempt of violating elections laws and rules on the day of the polls and to extend necessary assistance to concerned authorities and officials in the enforcement of such laws and rules.

According to the Ordinance the government would dissolve any Union Parishad or Pourashava if it is satisfied that the concerned Union Parishad or Pourashava did not try its best, or showed any slackness or has deliberately failed to perform any of these special functions.

#### **Election Officers' Rules**

91AS0570E Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER*  
in English 28 Dec 90 pp 1, 10

[Text] The acting president, Mr Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed, on Thursday promulgated an Ordinance entitled "Election Officer (special rules) Ordinance, 199" aiming at regulating discipline and control of those persons who are engaged in election work, reports BSS.

Under the Ordinance all persons engaged in election duty have been brought under the direct control of the Election Commission. Rules have been provided in the Ordinance for stringent punishment for any negligence or misconduct during performance of election duties.

Under rule 4 (3) of the Ordinance, persons engaged in election duty from the date of appointment till release would be considered as serving on deputation of the Election Commission.

Besides, as per rule 4 (1) of the Ordinance any person appointed for election work, cannot express inability and refuse to take responsibility or refuse to perform his duty. The original appointment authority of a person entrusted in the task of election cannot create obstruction or dissuade him from his work.

If any person, engaged in election work, intentionally fails to perform his duty or expresses inability or intentionally violates the rules of election laws, he would get stringent punishment. For such offence the concerned persons may be charged with misconduct and his service may be terminated or may be dismissed from service or he may be given forced retirement.

Election Commission or, with the consent of the Election Commission, the concerned returning officer can suspend a person immediately if he neglects his duty in the election.

No court can accept for trial any offence under this Ordinance without written complaint from the Election Commission or person empowered by the Election Commission.

It may be mentioned here that in addition to the rules under the above Ordinance, separate rules are there for punishment to the violators of election laws under representation of people order of 1972.

### **INDIA**

#### **Industrial Policy Decision Delayed**

91AS0557A Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
5 Jan 91 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 4 January: The announcement of the industrial policy will be delayed further with the Prime Minister, Mr Chandra Shekhar, today declaring that the Government would finalise it only by the next session of Parliament.

The National Front Government had come out with an industrial policy announcement on 31 May last year but its implementation was held up basically because of strident opposition from Mr Chandra Shekhar at that time. He had basically found fault with the portion dealing with foreign investment and had alleged that it was designed on the lines suggested by the World Bank and other international institutions. Even the supporting parties of the then National Front Government, the Left and the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], had found fault with the policy announcement and consequently, the Government failed to come out with concrete guidelines in this regard during its tenure.

The prevailing uncertainty in the absence of a sound industrial policy was also highlighted today at a meeting of Members of Parliament attached to the Industry Ministry. These members told the Prime Minister, who also holds the Industry portfolio, that in the absence of a policy, industrial activity in the country was slowing down.

Responding to these points, Mr Chandra Shekhar said the policy would be finalised by the next session of Parliament and held out the assurance that the process of liberalisation would be pursued. He also stated that the policy would aim at optimal utilisation of resources in

accordance with national priorities and would ensure that technology transfer from abroad did not lead to repetitive imports. He also emphasised that the policy would have to be so designed as to ensure labour participation, leading to sustained improvement in productivity.

Referring to general points, the Prime Minister said the Government would take all possible measures to ensure that industrial production did not suffer, particularly in the wake of the Gulf crisis which could result in reduced availability of petroleum products. About the public sector, he stressed on the need to improve the performance of these units and suggested that more freedom should be given to them to take decisions at the managerial level.

Efforts should also be made to take corrective measures to make them financially viable.

### Shekhar Explains Statement on SAARC

91AS0562A Madras THE HINDU in English  
8 Jan 91 p 1

[Words in italics as published; quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 7 January: The Prime Minister, Mr Chandra Shekhar today said India had the capability of meeting any challenge poised by the Pakistani nuclear weapons.

Responding to clarifications sought by Members of the Rajya Sabha on his *suo motu* statement on his participation at the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] summit, Mr Chandra Shekhar said there should be no scare on this count.

He said there was no question of discussing the Pakistani nuclear programme with the Pakistani Prime Minister, Mr Nawaz Sharif in Male since India did not want its own programme discussed. At one point,, reacting to demands that he share his own assessments with the House, he said everyone said Pakistan had the nuclear weapon and nobody doubted India had it, but he said he would not discuss the issue in the House.

Mr Chandra Shekhar said there had been an improvement on the question of Pakistani support to the Punjab terrorists. When some members persisted in questioning this assessment, the Prime Minister retorted that the Punjab terrorists knew better the result of those talks 'between him and Mr Sharif.'

He disclosed that he had had several chats with his Pakistani counterpart since the setting up of a hotline between their offices.

He said that after his, optimistic assessment of the first meeting was challenged by a report attributing a negative statement to the Pakistani Prime Minister, Mr Nawaz Sharif had called him up to say that the report was incorrect and part of the design of people interested in

spoiling the positive atmosphere that had been generated through the meetings of the two leaders in Male.

However Mr Chandra Shekhar said he could not divulge all the details of the bilateral talks and in any case the discussion in the House was confined to the SAARC summit.

### Charge Rejected

Defending the new tenor of relations between India and Pakistan, he said there were important differences of perception between the two countries on Kashmir and the distrust of 40 years could not be easily dispelled.

Rejecting the charge that nothing had been achieved in talks between the Foreign Secretaries of India and Pakistan, the Prime Minister said there had been important beginnings. For example the discussions on the Siachen agreement and on the Wular barrage project had been taken up after a gap of more than one year.

The contact between the two Prime Ministers had been stepped up because of the new hotline, and now the two Directors-General of Military Operations were talking to each other once a week. As a result of enhanced contacts between the two Armies, there had been no scare in Pakistan when Indian forces moved for their winter exercises, in contrast, the Indian press had played up the event as being tantamount to deploying the Army in Punjab, he added.

### No U.S. Prompting

Mr Chandra Shekhar angrily rejected charges that many of the steps taken had been the result of "U.S. prompting." He said some people were seeing ghosts everywhere. He said the U.S. had recently made two important clarifications. One, that it did not see the need for a plebiscite in Kashmir and two, that Pakistan ought to stop the trans-border support to militants in Kashmir. The Prime Minister said that this shift had occurred not because India had approached the U.S. but because of its own changed perceptions.

Responding to queries about his discussions with the Sri Lankan Prime Minister, he said there was no question of discussing the issue of the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] activity in Tamil Nadu with him. However, India had raised the issue of the refugees streaming to India as a result of the situation there.

He said at this juncture, India could at best play a minimal role in the situation since it could not revert to the past. It's not a realistic suggestion to ask us to do anything more in Sri Lanka, he said.

However he pointed out that the activities of some of the refugees from Sri Lanka was a serious matter and his Government had had to draw the attention of the Tamil Nadu Government to it. The Prime Minister said the link between the ULFA [United Liberation Front of Assam] and the LTTE was 'shocking' and implied that

the (AGP [Assam People's Council] and DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam]-led) State Governments had been aware of this development.

### Home Minister Discusses Communal Situation

91AS0544A Madras THE HINDU in English  
3 Jan 91 p 6

[Quotaiton marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 2 Jan—The communal tensions related to the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid row has left a trail of over 890 dead and 3800 injured since September this year, the Union Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mr Subodhkant Sahay informed the Rajya Sabha today.

Making a statement in response to a call attention by Mr Gurudas Dasgupta (CPI) [Communist Party of India] and 60 others on the communal situation in the country and the action taken by the Government to ease the tensions, the Minister said the communal situation in the country deteriorated from September onwards. "The Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid issue created a surcharged atmosphere in the country resulting in the lowering of the threshold of mutual tolerance."

The Minister identified Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh as the States which witnessed a spurt in communal violence during the last few months. The communal tension persisted in certain areas and some stray incidents of violence had taken place during the last few days in places like Aligarh and Ahmedabad.

He said his Government would spare no efforts to guarantee full protection to the minorities and for promotion of all round communal harmony in the country. A new sense of urgency and direction had to be given to the State apparatus to effectively discharge its constitutional and legal responsibility for protecting and safeguarding the life and property of each and every citizen.

Mr Sahay said the Union Government was working out an effective mechanism of monitoring the communal situation both at the highest level in the States and in the Ministry of Home Affairs to keep a very close vigil on developing situations. Though 'public order' and 'police' were the responsibilities of the State Governments, the Union Government would play its role effectively and meaningfully. The Government was in touch with the State Governments and providing all necessary help to them to tackle the problem.

The Minister said he had no doubt that the Government would be fully supported and strengthened by the collective will of all political parties, social organisations and individuals to defeat the sinister designs of mischievous, communal and fundamentalist elements.

He said there can be no doubt that every communal riot was a negation of long cherished Indian traditions of

cultural plurality, respect for each other's religious faith and communal harmony. The riots which affected some parts of the country recently and the simmering undercurrent of tensions which persisted at a few places strengthened the resolve of the Government to combat the menace of communalism with an unflinching and united determination of the whole nation.

### UNI, PTI report:

Before members could take part in the discussion, there was a 30-minute wrangle following the demand by Congress(I) members that the issue be converted into a short duration discussion, with the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] members strongly opposing the move.

However, the Deputy Chairperson, Mrs Najma Heptulla ruled that it would be taken up as a short duration discussion in view of the importance of the subject.

Mr Dasgupta stressed the need to find a negotiated solution to the Ayodhya issue or to accept the rule of law. He advocated the setting up of multi-religious anti-riot squads to instil confidence among the people.

He wanted a national conference of political parties and religious leaders jointly to discuss the issue, and also wanted a national consensus on the criminalisation and communalising of political parties.

He said political parties had sought to exploit the situation for political gains, and even women and children had not been spared in the "genocide" that followed.

Mr A.G. Kulkarni (Congress-I) squarely blamed the BJP for the "agonising experience" and reckless acts that the nation had been forced into. He said the rath yatra had "unleashed communal passions." He denied a charge made by the BJP member, Mr J.P. Mathur that the Congress(I) had divided the country on communal lines.

Mr Sukomal Sen (CPI-M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] also took the BJP to task for giving political overtones to the Ayodhya issue. The vernacular press also played "a dirty role" and instigated violence, he said.

Mrs Margaret Alva (Congress-I) said the BJP was responsible for the communal riots in the country. She said "religion has come to be identified with revivalism." She wondered if civilisation could survive by "building monuments to hatred."

Mr Pramod Mahajan (BJP) said that the main problem in the country was the policy of appeasement that successive governments had followed towards the minorities since Independence. He said the rath yatra had not started the riots, but had in fact been started to stem them.

Mr V. Gopalsamy (DMK) [Dravidian Progressive Foundation] said the secular fabric of the country was being threatened by communal forces.

### **Tribal Community Safeguards Reported Breached**

91AS0550A Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
4 Jan 91 p 4

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 3 January—In an unprecedented move, the Commissioner for Scheduled Tribes, Dr B.D. Sharma, has written to the Attorney-General to highlight in Parliament and advise the government on serious breaches of constitutional safeguards relating to the tribal community and other deprived sections.

Dr Sharma, in a letter to the Attorney-General said: "I had the privilege of submitting two reports so far to the president under Article 338 of the Constitution concerning the working of the constitutional safeguards for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. These reports are required to be placed before Parliament which has also been done. However, they have not come up for discussion so far."

"May I, therefore, formally request you on behalf of the deprived section of the community in general and the tribal people in particular that you may bring to the notice of the government and also Parliament the serious breaches of the constitutional safeguards and advise them accordingly so as to ensure that the voice of the tribal people is heard and the authorities concerned are obliged to take such action as may be necessary to remove these distortions...."

Dr Sharma said: "I wish to invite your attention to the fact that the situation in the tribal areas is rather grim. It is largely due to the fact that there is inadequate appreciation of the tribal situation. The exotic legal system is not in consonance with the tribal tradition and needs of the tribal economy...."

'Tribals rendered homeless': Moreover their traditional command over resources has been disregarded and the fact of their dependence on these resources for their living has not been taken note of either in the legal structure or in the actual administrative practice. Consequently, the tribal people have been rendered resourceless and deemed to be resourceless and deemed to be trespassers in their own homes and their very right to life has been threatened... In fact, in a way in the name of development a war is being waged against these people with no concern for their rights of these people as individuals and communities."

"Lastly, the State, in utter disregard of its responsibility for providing protection to the tribal people whose protection is their trust and who are engaged in the grim battle of their survival and are defending their right to life," the Commissioner said.

In his reports, Dr Sharma said, he had discussed the situation and "referred to many matters which, in my view, are violations of the constitutional safeguards of the concerned people. In some matters concerning the weaker sections of our community, the State itself is

responsible for the violations. It is particularly so in the case of the members of the Scheduled Tribes."

'No positive Response': In some urgent matters which came to my notice in the course of my investigation, I have been drawing the attention of the government at different levels—the prime minister, the Union Ministers, the Chief Ministers and the Governors. But in most cases, there is no positive response or the matter is dealt with in a routine or formalistic manner."

Referring to the debates in Parliament, he said the experience had not been a "happy one." "The debates are mostly in general terms and specific issues raised in the reports do not claim much attention for a variety of reasons. This leads to an extremely incongruous situation where specific violations of the law and even of constitutional provisions remain unattended even after they have been placed before the highest authority in the nation, that is, Parliament, and are deemed to have claimed its attention."

"The incongruity is still more pronounced in those cases where the ordinary democratic political process itself may be at variance with the spirit of the Constitution. Experience shows that even political consensus may not be a guarantee of equity," he said.

"I am inviting your (Attorney-General's) attention to these facts because here are cases of serious violation of the constitutional provisions. The Attorney-General has been charged with the responsibility of advising the Government on vital legal matters and has also the privilege of participating in the proceedings of Parliament," the Commissioner said.

Article 88 of the Constitution says: "Every Minister and the Attorney-General of India shall have the right to speak in and otherwise to take part in the proceedings of either House, any joint sittings of the Houses and any Committee of Parliament...."

### **Budget Situation Reviewed, Shortfall Seen**

91AS0564A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 12 Jan 91 p 17

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 11 January (UNI): The Centre's budget deficit at the end of November 1990 was Rs [rupees] 13,000 crore, representing a 'disquieting' picture of a shortfall in revenue receipts, even as expenditure continued to be incurred as budgeted, the finance minister Mr Yashwant Sinha informed the Lok Sabha today.

Presenting a review on the actual developments in the budgetary situation during the first eight months of the current financial year, Mr Sinha assured the house that the process of arresting the deterioration in the fiscal situation had already started and would be continued and consolidated in 1991-92.

The deficit as on 30 November 1990, was slightly lower than the figure of Rs 13,082 crore on the same date last year, he said.

The 1990-91 budget presented by the then finance minister Prof Madhu Dandavate had visualised a deficit of Rs 7,206 crore for the year.

The annexure to the minister's statement shows that the receipts of corporation tax and income-tax were lower both in absolute terms and as percentage of the budget estimates than those for the corresponding period of 1989-90.

The collections under corporation tax up to November, 1990 amounted to Rs 1,001 crore against Rs 1,233 crore in the previous period. This was 16.44 percent of the budget estimates for the year as compared to 25.93 percent last year.

In the case of income-tax, the receipts this year were Rs 22.33 (41.6 percent) crore up to November 1990, while it was Rs 2,299 crore (54.15 percent) in the corresponding period of 1989-90.

Customs duties collections were Rs 12,468 crore (58.10 percent) as against Rs 11,192 crore (62.60 percent) in the previous period. Similarly, excise duties collections were Rs 14,8859 crore (59.14 percent) against Rs 13,683 crore (60.27 percent) up to November 1989, in the last financial year.

Mr Sinha's statement on Friday was in pursuance of the earlier government's decision to apprise parliament of the actual performance on the budget front every four months. The first such report was presented to parliament by Mr Dandavate on 28 August 1990.

Mr Sinha said that in addition to revenue shortfalls, there had been underfunding of the requirements for the farm loan waiver scheme.

Mr Sinha said the new government could not wait and allow a further deterioration in the budgetary situation. 'There was no time to be lost,' he stressed.

He said that immediately on assuming office, he had reviewed the position and initiated several steps to arrest the deterioration in the fiscal situation. He recalled that action had already been taken to mobilise additional revenues estimated at Rs 1,200 crore during the current financial year. Simultaneously, steps were being taken to keep a strict rein on expenditure, he said.

He pointed out that in the second batch of supplementary demands presented to Parliament on 27 December 1990 the net cash outgo would be only Rs 649 crore, which is the total net additional outgo on account of supplementary grants so far during the current financial year.

Last year, at this stage, three supplementaries, aggregating a net cash outgo of Rs 2,119 crore, had been presented, he said.

Mr Sinha also said he had indicated in his statement to the house on 27 December 1990, that the combination of measures on the revenue and expenditure side would ensure that the fiscal deficit of the government did not exceed 8.3 percent of the GDP [gross domestic product] in 1990-91.

"We have thus started the process of correcting the serious fiscal imbalance. We will continue the process of fiscal correction and consolidation in 1991-92," he said.

The finance minister prefaced his statement by saying that it was important to recognise that there were two characteristics of budget deficits. First, the deficit during the greater part of the year is higher than the year-end deficit. Second, broadly speaking, the month-end deficit registers a steady increase in the first six months of the financial year, peaks sometime during the four months of the financial year, peaks sometime during the four months that follow and then declines to a lower level at the end of the financial year, he said.

It was important to recognise that, on any day during the financial year, the actual budget deficit is determined by receipts of expenditure flows up to that date.

It is not a cumulative aggregate and consequently the budget deficit on a particular day or at the end of a particular month is quite often higher than the year-end figure, he added.

### **Jayalalith's Popularity, Opposition's Strength Commended**

91P40025A Madras ANANDA VIKATAN in Tamil  
14 Oct 90 p 1

[Editorial: "Jayalalitha has Proven"]

[Text] Two things were proven by the high discipline shown by thousands of the A.D.M.K. [Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam-Tamilnadu Opposition party] members' gathering and from the large public gathering at the seashore in connection with the unveiling of M.G.R.'s [Tamilnadu's late chief minister Dr. M. G. Ramachandran] statue on Anna Road in Madras.

The first thing is that M.G.R. is still remembered reverently in every nook and corner of Tamilnadu and the second is that the public has accepted only Jayalalitha as M.G.R.'s political heir.

Former premier Rajiv Gandhi has said that her [Jayalalitha's] immense popularity had astounded even him!

"Any rule needs a powerful and disciplined opposition party. Whether such a party will cease to exist here" was a genuine concern of the people of Tamilnadu. The big demonstration in Madras by Jayalalitha has erased that concern.

Jayalalitha has proven her popularity and her party's strength in the streets of the State Capital, but that is not sufficient!

She must stop her sudden disappearances, get serious about politics, and point out the faults of the ruling party. She must perform her duties at the legislative assembly impeccably.

Only then will the people of Tamilnadu be able to trust her completely.

### **Congress (I), Janata Dal (S) Seen Frustrated by Uttar Pradesh Chief**

#### **Government Would Fail Without His Support**

91AS0375A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi  
19 Dec 90 p 6

[Editorial: "Yadav Until When?"]

[Text] Mulayam Singh Yadav is stuck in the political throats of Chander Shekhar and Rajiv Gandhi like a bone. The Congress party is losing its remaining support by letting Yadav remain as the chief minister of Uttar Pradesh. Yadav is perhaps the most popular or most hated leader not only in Uttar Pradesh (U.P.) but the whole northern India. Most of the people consider him the villain in the Ayodhya drama. The Muslims are upset with him because his government does not protect them during riots. There have been religious riots with unprecedented violence in some of the U.P. cities. When the police go to control violence, they become prey to violent acts themselves. The curfew cannot be implemented anywhere and the communal riots cannot be stopped with all the effort the government and the police has put in. Communal hatred and anger is so prevalent that even a minor rumor results in widespread riots. Mulayam Singh's share in these riots is not any less than the Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP] and the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]. He was instrumental in increasing the hatred between the minority and majority groups while working for the Congress to remove V.P. Singh. He succeeded in forcing the BJP to help throw out the United Front Government; however, he sowed a lot of poison in this effort and the harvest of hate is in front of him now. You get burned when you play with fire.

The tragic thing is that this communal confrontation was encouraged just for a political game. This very Congress party was supporting Mulayam Singh Yadav only a few days ago and calling him the great warrior of secularism. Rajiv Gandhi used to praise Yadav openly before the Chander Shekhar Government was formed. He always gave the impression that whatever Yadav was doing in U.P. over the temple-mosque issue was on his own. Now the results of Yadav's actions are in front of Rajiv and he is also being told how Channa Reddy had accepted the moral responsibility for the communal riots in Andhra Pradesh and had resigned from his position. Also, when Virendar Patil did not show this kind of character, he was fired by the Congress party. The question Rajiv has to answer is: Why does not Yadav resign voluntarily since the riots in U.P. were much more serious than in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh? The problem is that

Mulayam Singh Yadav is not a Congress chief minister. He had played a very important role in the fall of V.P. Singh. Moving him from Lucknow to Delhi cannot be considered a reward for this support. Also, the number of Chander Shekhar's own people who helped him form the government was not very small either. It is true that Yadav has failed in stopping riots in U.P.; however, removing him from his position would mean that Chander Shekhar's Government should also resign from Delhi. Rajiv Gandhi is not ready for such a move. He wants to use the Chander Shekhar Government for a few more months to pave the way for his grand entrance later on. There is also a lot of pressure on Chander Shekhar, but he also knows what would happen to his government if the Congress party put pressure on Yadav. Thus, Mulayam Singh Yadav can talk about expanding his cabinet for a few more days. However, Lokpati Tripathi, Shiela Dixit, Rajendar Kumari Bajpai, and Narain Dutta Tiwari will not remain silent. Mulayam Singh Yadav's remaining in the chief minister's office is proving very costly for the Congress party and it cannot bear it for very long. The Congress party cannot swallow [the bone called] Yadav; therefore, it must spit it out.

#### **Government's Dilemma Seen As Farcical'**

91AS0375B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi  
14 Dec 90 p 6

[Article by Ambrish Kumar: "Congress (I) In a Fix"]

[Text] The Congress (I) is suffering the most in the changing political atmosphere in Uttar Pradesh (U.P.). It is losing support fast. There appears to be no agreement between the Congress high command in Delhi and the regional Congress leaders. The regional Congress (I) leaders are suffering because the national leaders do not have a clear policy on the temple-mosque issue. The other problem is that even when the Congress (I) gets rid of the temple issue, it still will have to deal with the Mandal problem. Polarization has started at the common member level. The Congress (I) leaders at the center do not have any idea about the changing mentality of its supporters. The Brahman camp of Congress (I) is fully in favor of building the temple and against Mulayam Singh, and a large number of other Congress (I) supporters are leaning toward the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). All this has aggravated the minority situation even more.

The student and youth leaders are suffering most. They have been campaigning against Mulayam Singh until recently over the Mandal issue. Now their party is supporting Mulayam Singh. It is obvious that there are no political benefits from campaigning over the Mandal issue. The secular Congress (I) leaders who had the support of Hindus until recently are not in favor with the people anymore. These people were fighting against Mulayam Singh over the temple issue until 30 November. However, they are silent now. The Congress (I) has traditionally drawn support from Brahmans, Harijans, and the minorities. In addition, it had been

getting support from the urban middle class. However, the Congress (I) has failed in taking a clear stand over the Ram Janambhumi temple and the Mandal issues. It is suffering from this ambiguity now. The Congress (I) was in fairly good shape in the state before the V.P. Singh Government fell as it carried the magical promise of a stable government. However, the state Congress party is in a dilemma after it endorsed Chander Shekhar's Government. It has to carry Chander Shekhar at the center and Mulayam Singh in the state. The state Congress party has unwittingly become a victim of the public anger against Mulayam Singh Yadav. This is not the only problem. One very strong camp of the state's Congress (I) party is campaigning very strongly against Mulayam Singh. This campaign is still active behind the scenes.

The wounds caused by the arrest of Congress (I) leader Darshan Singh and the conspiracy to assassinate him in Itawa and the arrests of many Congress (I) leaders including Balram Singh Yadav, former U.P. Congress (I) president, and Shiela Dixit, former central government minister, are not healed yet. The Congress (I) leaders had been encouraging student campaigns against the Mandal issue in U.P. as well as other places. However, now Mulayam Singh Yadav has put the Congress (I) leaders in a very difficult situation by increasing reservation quotas at the insistence of the Congress (I). The Congress (I) student leaders just do not know how they can support Mulayam Singh and oppose the Mandal issue at the same time. This is the reason many student leaders of the state Congress (I) party find themselves getting closer to the Bharatiya Janata Party.

The majority of urban population in the state favors building the temple at any cost in the Ram Janambhumi issue. A segment of the middle class is also in favor of the temple; however, it is also opposed to communal riots. The important role played by the leaders of this faction in universities has helped the situation from getting worse. However, if the speed at which the Hinduism issue is getting momentum is not checked, then this issue will get out of the BJP and Hindu Parishad's hands. Mr. Lal Karishan Advani was strongly criticized in Lucknow the day he had announced on the television that he would follow peaceful noncooperation instead of the sit-ins. This shows how strongly this group feels. Actually, it has been Mulayam Singh Yadav who has played a major role in making the people angry. The BJP as well as the V.P. Singh camp are both benefiting from the increasing anger against Mulayam Singh. Both Congress (I) and Janata Dal (S) parties will be hurt permanently.

The Janata Dal (S) party, known as a follower of the Congress (I), is in the most ridiculous position now. The members of this party do not know how to face the people. A small portion of the minority is frustrated because of the pro-Brahman attitude of the Congress (I) and equation resulting from Mulayam Singh Yadav's actions. This group knows that the Mulayam Singh Government is alive because of the Congress (I) support and they do not expect anything from the pro-Brahman

leadership of Congress (I). They are also disillusioned with Mulayam Singh after the riots in Gonda and Aligarh.

The image of student leaders from the Chander Shekhar camp is pretty aggressive. This aggressiveness, however, had resulted from their opposition to the Congress (I). Their situation was adversely affected when Chander Shekhar joined the Congress (I). Many student leaders have expressed their anger that Chander Shekhar had achieved his goal while they have their whole lives ahead of them. They worry about their future since they have been hurt by these turncoats. It is also rumored that Chander Shekhar might absorb his party into the Congress (I) and run for the presidency of the nation since he is not likely to become the prime minister a second time. Students who know the basic character of Congress (I) and have been fighting against it for a long time are worried now. They see no other venue but to join the left wing parties or with V.P. Singh.

Communalism is on the increase in rural areas. The BJP is following the strategy of keeping this issue alive by keeping religious chanting or other programs going in rural areas. All this will lead to polarization. However, it is not possible for the villagers, especially those belonging to lower castes, to forget their caste and community. The anti-Mandal campaign has united these people. It is hard to make predictions at this time; however, we know that the Congress (I) and the Janata Dal (S) are in a bad situation.

### Yadav Courts Populist Leader

91AS0375C New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi  
13 Dec 90 p 1

[Article by Anil Bansal: "Mulayam Singh and Tikait Get Close to Each Other"]

[Text] Sisouli, 12 December—Mulayam Singh Yadav, by accepting the demands made by Mahendra Singh Tikait, has made the latter the messiah in the eyes of the farmers in western Uttar Pradesh. Mr. Tikait reciprocated by giving him fruit and sugar. However, the success of this rally must have spoiled Ajit Singh's mood for whom Tikait Singh has been making political problems even when staying out of politics.

Only time will tell how the prime minister and his partner, the chief minister of Uttar Pradesh, will benefit from the rally held yesterday and the announcement of 3 billion rupees in aid to the farmers made in this rally. However, it has made Mahendra Singh Tikait a giant already. There is no secret about the fact that Mulayam Singh Yadav and Mahendra Singh Tikait have come to terms with the help of Devi Lal. This rally was called after this truce was made and Mr. Tikait got an excuse to call this rally attended by, according to Mr. Yadav, "more people than one could imagine."

Mulayam Singh Yadav acted very different than his obnoxious self during yesterday's rally. He had not

attended the public meeting held in Sisouli last May in which Chander Shekhar, Devi Lal, and Ajit Singh had participated, even though he had promised to come. At that time, he considered himself the major leader of farmers and did not want to make Tikait, as he put it himself, "a hero just like Vir Bahadur Singh." He did not even allow Mr. Tikait the permission to hold a farmers rally in Lucknow in July. He had him arrested and the farmers who supported him were beaten up.

However, in this changing political situation in Uttar Pradesh, it was important for Yadav to make problems for Ajit Singh. Devi Lal also encouraged him in this effort. Mahendra Singh Tikait was angry at Mr. Yadav; however, he agreed to go with the plan because of his "friendship" with Mr. Devi Lal. He had nothing to lose in this deal anyway. Mr. Tikait just could not get along with Ajit Singh from the very beginning.

Mulayam Singh Yadav praised Mr. Tikait profusely in the rally yesterday. He undermined Ajit Singh by calling Tikait the greatest leader of farmers after Charan Singh. He was overjoyed to hear V.P. Singh being compared to Aurangzeb in this meeting. Devi Lal, Chander Shekhar, and Mulayam Singh's combined objective was achieved when Tikait Singh attacked Ajit Singh and V.P. Singh without mentioning them by name and announcing that, "it was good for the party now that the trash is thrown out of it!" In a region where no one ever had dared to say a negative word about Charan Singh, they were openly criticizing his son and political heir.

We cannot conclude that Ajit Singh's fort is falling apart as the result of this rally. The fact is that Ajit Singh never really had built a fort for himself. His only asset is his father's political heritage which he is not managing very well. Even after 6 years of active politics, his image is not considered "undefeatable." He was in the government for 11 months and did not try to relate to his support groups. He did not even visit his constituency according to a set schedule. Mahendra Singh Tikait, on the contrary, continued his relationship with the farmers. These were the reasons why Mr. Tikait managed to hold such a big rally in spite of the opposition by Ajit Singh's supporters, communal riots, and farmers' busy season.

Charan Singh had made the western Uttar Pradesh Jat voters anti-congress. If Mr. Tikait cannot move this vote bank toward Mulayam Singh and Devi Lal, then Ajit Singh should keep in mind that this cache of votes will ignore him too if he tried to deal with the Congress (I) tomorrow.

Mahendra Singh Tikait also looked a little different in yesterday's rally. He was very polite and did not act stubborn about his demands being accepted immediately. Instead, he asked the chief minister to think about them after reaching Lucknow. He also announced a stop to his three-years-old campaign of noncooperation. This will help the government machinery of Mulayam Singh that has been unhappy with Tikait's "parallel government" in western U.P. feel relieved.

The result of this effort will be that Mahendra Singh Tikait will become a political pawn that will make Ajit Singh's enemies bother him in his own stronghold. Ajit Singh will at least not have the illusion to think that the Jats in western U.P. are part of his paternal bequest.

The question now is: Will the reality of Mahendra Singh Tikait and his farmers union become history after yesterday's rally? This will not help Mulayam Singh Yadav and Devi Lal. Mr. Tikait has made some unnecessary demands on purpose so that he has enough fuel to keep his campaign going. For example, he asked that all cases registered against farmers during the farmers campaign be dropped. Mulayam Singh did not respond to this demand. He also ignored the demand to raise sugar cane prices to the level of Haryana prices. Mr. Tikait can always unite the farmers in the name of the noncooperation movement whenever he thinks it is necessary. In other words, Mr. Tikait's clout will remain.

#### VHP Supporters Show Videos on Ayodhya

91AS0539A Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English  
1 Jan 91 p 9

[Article by Diptosh Majumdar]

[Text] Berhampore, 31 Dec—The Viswa Hindu Parishad [VHP] supporters have been showing video cassettes on the happenings in Ayodhya on 30 October in almost all the blocks of Murshidabad district for the past three weeks. Official sources in Berhampore said that about 50 such cassettes have been smuggled into the district and shows are being secretly arranged by the VHP as well as the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] sympathizers, thereby causing much anxiety to the district administration.

Manufactured by the Jain Studios in Delhi, the cassette runs for an hour and has been edited in such a way that there is emphasis on those portions which would incite the more fundamentalist among the Hindus, according to the sources. The cassette shows how a daring man, clad in saffron robes, drove a bus to the controversial site and kar sevaks lunged forward to cause breaches in the police barricade. It shows men atop the dome of the mosque and concentrates on details of police firing, the pile of bodies and the beating up of a few journalists. The film easily impresses the more gullible among the viewers.

These video shows are being arranged not merely for political reasons. It seems that the VHP hopes to raise a lot of money for contribution to the "Hutatma fund" from Murshidabad district. Sources said Hindus, after viewing these cassettes, are contributing more generously and the organizers have already received Rs [rupees] 1 lakh as donations from affluent members of the majority community. The "Hutatma" fund is to be used in providing compensation to the families of those killed in police firing at Ayodhya. Last Saturday, the "asthikalas" (a pot containing the ashes of those killed at the site of murder) arrived in Berhampore which was followed by a meeting at Grant Hall.

Syed Shahabuddin's statement that Hindus might be allowed to construct a temple at the mosque site if they had enough historical proof has enraged a section of the Muslims. Young men belonging to the Students' Islamic Movement of India (SIMI) have resented the statement vehemently. The SIMI, according to sources, has some influence in Raninagar and at Samsergunge in Suti. On 4 December a function was organized at Nimtita in the Aurangabad police station area where a scholar from Burdwan, Mr Gulam Murtaza, who has authored books like "Itihaser Chhera Pata," spoke on the Ram temple-Babari mosque controversy. A large crowd gave a patient hearing.

Even the Muslim League, though divided into two camps following a controversy over the distribution of funds raised to compensate families of those killed during Katra riots, has also been active for the past month or so, the Muslim League (Latif group) led by a lawyer from Berhampore town, Mr Saimuddin Sarkar, is the more vocal one of the two factions and they had planned to organize a Murshidabad bandh on the day of the kar seva in late October but withdrew at the last moment following requests from the State Government. On the day of the kar seva itself, there was some tension in Aurangabad after the BBC news bulletin, but it was defused soon.

The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) also organized a meeting in Berhampore on 25 November in which among others, Mr H.V. Seshadri, an RSS general secretary from Delhi, was present. Also present was Mr Kalidas Bose, the "prant sanchalak" of West Bengal. The arrival of the RSS bosses is viewed by political observers as an effort being made by Hindu fundamentalist groups to further strengthen themselves in this border district.

Infiltration, according to official sources, is gradually on the wane and the arrival of Bangladeshis is likely to diminish further now that the political climate in the neighbouring country is undergoing a change. Mr Radharanjan Gupta, editor of Janamat, a prestigious periodical published from Berhampore, said infiltration was now a thing of the past and had been diminishing for the past few years.

However, tension simmered and threatened to snowball into large-scale violence when nine makeshift temples were burnt down on the night of 16 December. These temporary places of worship made of jute sticks and tin sheds abound in Murshidabad district and the burning down of nine of them almost simultaneously raised many eyebrows. What surprised people was that these temples located in different villages of Raninagar and Jalangi thana areas are spread over several kilometres and their destruction was definitely part of a pre-planned operation.

The villages where these temples were destroyed, like Bangshibadanpur, Nabipur, Narendrapur and Malopara in the Raninagar police station area or Debipur, Sagarpara, Sahibnagar, and Joykrishnapur in Jalangi area, are

dominated by Hindus. There are many who feel that this was an attempt made by an organized and cohesive group to incite the Hindus and incite them to attack members of the other community. For example, Bangshibadanpur has a population of 95 percent Hindus and the rest Muslims. Muslims were mostly in a minority in several of these villages.

The CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] held street-corner meetings in the Jalangi area on 18 December trying to defuse the tension. The local leaders who addressed these meetings blamed the BJP for the destruction of the places of worship and said that the BJP had resorted to this act of sabotage to disrupt communal harmony. BJP leaders argued that this was an attempt by the CPI(M) to malign them. To the immense relief of the district administration, tension subsided and there was no untoward incident. But political observers pointed out that the incident was proof enough that "all was not well" in Murshidabad district.

#### Draft Resolutions for Forward Bloc Congress

91AS0543A Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English  
2 Jan 91 p 7

[Text] The draft resolutions for the 12th party congress of the All-India Forward Bloc, slated to begin on 9 February in New Delhi, state that whatever setback Socialism had suffered in the East European countries was owing to the mistakes committed by the leaders of Communist parties in these countries. The resolutions said that Socialism could not be held responsible for this. All those who were fighting for Socialism in Third World countries and in capitalist nations as well should learn from the mistakes committed in Eastern Europe otherwise the same mistakes will be repeated, the draft resolutions warned. The copies of the draft resolutions have already been distributed among the leadership and followers for study.

In Eastern European countries—Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania and GDR (till its merger with FRG)—Socialism had been officially abandoned and what was being followed in these countries was nothing but capitalism. Communist parties in these countries which came to power with the Soviet help failed to work properly for the socialist reorientation of their system. A kind of party-bureaucracy had developed which encouraged the growth of rampant corruption and nepotism in the system.

The party document, however, observed that setback to Socialism in these countries was a transient phase. Already discontent among the people had started brewing.

The document noted that in spite of change towards privatization, the parties and Governments in China, the USSR and Vietnam have stated very clearly that they are following Socialism in their programmes of reconstruction and they would remain loyal to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism. Referring to the privatization now

being followed in the USSR, the document said that if this trend was not checked it would endanger Socialism. There may not be any objection to more democratization within the Socialist system, but if in the name of democracy attempts were made to establish bourgeois democracy it will go against the very concept of socialist democracy.

The draft resolution noted that there is apprehension among the people in many Third World countries that in their struggles against colonialism, neo-colonial rule and imperialist aggression they will not get the same amount of support from the Soviet Union as they were getting earlier. The document said though there had been some lessening of tension between the United States and the USSR, it was, however, wrong to suggest that cold war had come to an end. The way the United States was going for an armed intervention in the Gulf crisis proved that though bipolar politics was coming to an end, hegemonism of the United States would spell a danger for the world.

### Change in BJP Seen With Joshi Accession

91AS0561A New Delhi PATRIOT in English  
9 Jan 91 p 6

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Under Mr Murli Manohar Joshi as the new BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] chief, the party enters a phase whose real import, both political and organisationally, is a subject of varied assessments.

Mr M.M. Joshi, currently the BJP general secretary, takes over from Mr L.K. Advani as the president of the party for a two-year term, beginning from 1 February. Having held the high BJP office for two terms of two years each, Mr Advani lays down BJP presidentship on 31 January. Mr Joshi is to formally take over from Mr Advani at the BJP's forthcoming plenary session scheduled in the first week of February at Jaipur.

Mr Joshi certainly faces a herculean task to match the performance of his predecessor Mr Advani. The BJP was in poor shape when Mr Advani assumed its helm in 1985 and as he lays down office, the BJP with a strength of 86 MPs [Members of Parliament], has emerged as the main Opposition in the Lok Sabha. It is ruling three States of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh, and has considerably expanded its base in Maharashtra and Gujarat, as also in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh [UP].

Mr Advani also sought to add a new dimension to the BJP identity by launching the much talked about rath yatra, thereby bringing the Ram temple issue to the centre-stage of the BJP's politics, to the exclusion of virtually all other vital socio-economic and political questions.

Mr Joshi is taking the helm when there is a growing realisation in the BJP that the party's reliance on the temple-mosque dispute alone may not carry it very far in

its struggle for power. There is also a view that blatant reliance on the religious factor to achieve political ends may help in the short run but would be dangerously counter-productive in the long run.

In this context, the BJP's 'think tank' has started working in a socio-economic frame-work which could form the basis of what is being described as 'Ram Raj,' a concept which was also mentioned by Mahatma Gandhi in his own time. The Malkhani Committee is expected to elaborate this frame-work for being placed before the Jaipur plenary session.

This approach on socio-economic and current political issues seems to be in time with the thinking of the BJP president-elect, Mr M.M. Joshi.

Professor of Physics at Allahabad University, he has come to be known as one of the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh] ideologues and also a hardliner in the BJP echelons.

He was once reported to have asserted that "Mandal shall be fought with Mandir," underscoring the significance that leaders of his thinking attached to fighting backward caste reservations to stop erosion of the BJP's Hindu base, which was sought to be consolidated by it.

In his new position, Mr Joshi may suffer from a few handicaps but at the same time will have many an advantage to rely on, in eventually leaving a mark on the BJP's evolution.

There is no gainsaying the fact that Mr Joshi will have to contend with the image and prestige of his illustrious predecessors, Mr L.K. Advani and Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, whose presence will continue to be felt in the organisation, in Parliament as well as the political scenario. Perhaps in this very context, BJP circles stress that this new phase of the party would be marked by "collective leadership" in contrast to the previous phase in which Mr A.B. Vajpayee and later Mr L.K. Advani towered over the BJP's political spectrum.

By the same token, Mr Joshi enjoys many advantages in so far as the organisation is concerned. For one thing, Mr Joshi was an ABVP [Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad] leader for long, was one of the general secretaries of the ruling Janata Parliamentary party during its 1977-79 phase, was BJP general secretary when it was formed in 1980 after the Janata split. In the recent phase, he as general secretary was main spokesman of the party, perhaps reflecting the leadership's mind about Mr Joshi's future assignment.

Knowledgeable circles also point out that Mr Joshi has been a close associate and confidant of Nanaji Deshmukh, once considered to be the "strongman" of the former Jana Sangh. They point out that since Mr Vajpayee and Mr Deshmukh could not see eye to eye with each other, the latter left active political field to take up "constructive work" in Gonda shortly after the BJP was

formed with Mr Vajpayee as its President. Mr Deshmukh had been largely keeping himself out of political focus even during Mr Advani's regime. On the other hand, the close association of Mr Vajpayee and Mr Advani has been no secret either.

It may be a coincidence, though knowledgeable circles do not think so, that now when Mr Joshi is taking over the BJP helm Mr Deshmukh has emerged from Gonda hibernation and announced his decision to go round the country, meet groups of intellectuals and "expose" what he described as "pseudo-secularism." The Deendayal Research Institute, a coveted institution headed by Nenaji, has also been the abode of Mr Joshi when he happens to be in the Capital.

In this context, Mr Joshi can be said to have a headstart for he would enjoy unalloyed cooperation from the RSS and VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad] ranks though he will have to strive hard to display his political acumen as the leader in the complex political scenario of today when there is a mounting concern about the aggravating communal tensions.

### **CPI-M Reconsiders Stand on Religion**

91AS0563A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 11 Jan 91 p 7

[Article by Seema Guha]

[Text] New Delhi, 10 January: Faced with the serious onslaught of militant Hinduism, the CPM [Marxist Communist Party] is shedding some of its old inhibitions on past taboos such as religion, and is reconsidering its stand on the issue.

The Indian communists, who had followed the old Marxist adage of religion being the opium of the people, had kept aloof from it. However the charged communal situation in the country has persuaded the CPM leadership to take a practical view of religion. A large majority of party leaders now feel that in a country such as India, where religion continues to be deeply rooted in the consciousness of the masses, it is time to exploit the progressive trends in every religion to combat the fundamentalists at their own game.

So far the party had left religion strictly alone, making it an individual choice, a private matter. However, the stridency of the VHP-BJP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad-Bharatiya Janata Party] campaign over the Babri Masjid-Ram Janambhoomi issue, and the deteriorating communal situation, have forced the CPM to reconsider its stand.

The party is gradually coming to the conclusion that a potent force such as religion can be turned into a powerful weapon for dividing the various communities, or can be as effectively utilised for unifying society. The CPM is considering using the progressive element in every religion to spread the message of oneness among the masses. The idea is to raise the level of popular

consciousness and concentrate on the positive aspects of every religion to teach tolerance and goodwill towards all.

Marxist cadres when they go to the people will now remind the masses of such reformers as Sri Chaitanya, Ramakrishna and Kabir who preached against the narrowing confines of individual religion and taught tolerance and coexistence.

The CPM leaders, however, make it plain that there is no compromise in the individual beliefs of the party members. The party leaders and members are not going to turn to religion, but will continue with their atheist beliefs.

The only change in the party is that of outlook. While even a couple of years ago, the CPM would have resolutely been against having to do anything with religion, the changing situation in the communist world, as well as the very real dangers of communalism in the country, has forced the CPM to shed some of its pet aversions. The new-found pragmatism of communists all over the world has also helped the CPM to use every means available to fight communalism unleashed by fundamentalist forces.

It will of course be to the party's advantage, if this helps to get the CPM a foothold in the Hindi belt.

A general debate on this is now going on in the party, with the majority taking a more practical view of religion for using it to their advantage. However, the proposal has not been formally adopted yet by the politburo though the signs are that it will be done in a couple of months.

In keeping with the winds of change, party activists have been advised to revise their terminology while speaking to the people. The new directive is to talk to the masses at their level, instead of complicating matters by long-winded speeches that go over the heads of ordinary people.

### **Party Politics: Commentary Views Need for 'Middle-course'**

91P40081A Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi  
3 Dec 90 p 6

[Commentary by Rajendra Mathur: "Anti-Congressism, Anti-BJPism [Anti-Bharatiya Janata Partyism], Anti-Janataism"]

[Text] Just prior to the discussion of the November seventh confidence vote, George Fernandes and Nathuram Mirdha met with high officials of the Congress party, and expressed the desire that Rajiv Gandhi's party save Vishwanath Pratap Singh's government with their vote. Although George and Mirdha have regretted their taking that initiative, they have not actually done anything to be ashamed of. Coming face to face with the gigantic challenge of Ayodhya, they probed into the right

regrouping of political powers, but on both sides such tight knots of envy-hatred and mutual hostility exist that this type of realignment could not be achieved in a trice.

However, in the time it takes to snap your fingers, Chandra Shekhar and Devilal have indeed formed just such an alliance! Except that their status in the Lok Sabha is truly shameful, Chandra Shekhar and Devilal also have not basically done anything to be ashamed of.

If Rajiv Gandhi were to aid the government on November seventh to hold its own, accomplishment of that task would surely not have been unconditional! Congress and Janata Dal alliance would have required at least that, to face the challenge of Ayodhya, Vishwanath Pratap Singh reduce the flames of his caste/class campaign a little. Janata Dal would have been required to change from the radical ground it had adopted since recently to the middle ground that had been its legacy till August 1990. In this middle ground, India's two big unbiased parties could have shaken hands.

If this were to happen, would V.P. Singh have become Delhi's Mulayam Singh? We do not think so. Why should even poor Mulayam Singh be looked at with contempt as though he has made a pact with the Devil? If your friend chooses to sit in a ferry that refused admission to you, does he automatically become a sinner and a traitor?

Vishwanath Pratap Singh has returned to the extremity of radicalism after exploring the possibilities of staying on a middle ground. Chandra Shekhar, on the other hand, has gotten tired of his prolonged banishment to radicalism and has made friends with Congress. Isn't this an interesting world?

#### **Pakistan Advised to 'Look After Own Muslims'**

91AS0376A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi  
19 Dec 90 p 6

[Article by Kranti Kumar Sharma: "In Reality a Humanistic Sham"]

[Text] Once again Pakistan, under the cover of a humanistic mask, expressed concern over the conditions of Indian Muslims and gave a lecture that their lives and property must be safeguarded. Its corrupt policies and wicked intentions are sufficient evidence in themselves to expose Pakistan and personal motives behind this lecture on humanity. It proves that by using scarecrow tactics over the issue of "anger towards the existence of Muslims in India," Pakistan not only wants to get even for being unsuccessful in its worldwide campaign against India, but also, it wants to divert the attention of its people on the failures they experienced at the internal war fronts, as well as by pleasing the fanatics of the country it wants to keep in control. Another hidden motive that Pakistan has for its personal gain is that by making them believe that Pakistan is their only "guide" in the subcontinent, it wants to keep a hold on the

Muslims. The question is, how long India would continue to tolerate such mischiefs and wicked intentions of Pakistan? Should the Indian Muslims not come forward on such occasion and take a stand against Pakistan and thereby prove their loyalty to the nation?

It violated all the international norms when Pakistan, in an uncivilized language, expressed concern over the enraged communal riots in the Indian cities of Hyderabad, Aligarh, Khurja, Kanpur, Ahmedabad, etc. This news of the reaction was not only covered explicitly in the Pakistani newspapers, but also the country's rulers made bitter statements about this incident.

Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Shaharyar M. Khan, in a statement in New Delhi, said that India must take some effective measures to prevent the wave of these recent communal killings, and by all means, it must safeguard the lives, the property, and the places of worship of the Indian Muslims. A spokesperson of the Indian Foreign Ministry, while objecting strongly to this unofficial reaction of Pakistan, called it a violation of both the spirit of the "Simla Treaty" and the acceptable manner by which the two world-known countries should treat each other. He further said that Pakistan may intend to continue to interfere and be involved in our internal affairs.

These planned actions of Pakistan, coupled with expressions of concern over the riots in India, are like setting a house on fire first and then watching from a distance and letting it burn, while at the same time pretending to be humanistic. Otherwise, who does not know the fact that proofs of Pakistan's involvement have been found on many occasions in the many riots that took place in India since the Independence. It has continued to poison the minds of Indian Muslims for suicidal actions by publicizing provocative reports through the media. The current riots in different towns of India appear to be a part of a well-planned conspiracy masterminded by Pakistan. In a series of recent incidents which took a delicate turn, Pakistan not only has helped support these activities, but also plotted the ugly bloodshed with the aid of the secret agents and its agencies in India.

If we carefully analyze, we find several proofs of Pakistan's involvement in the recent riots that occurred in different parts of India. For example, for a long time, the presence of Pakistani agents has been suspected in such cities as Hyderabad and Aligarh where it had all started. It was quite evident that Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) of the Pakistan Army had played a role in the destruction of the Holy Guru Granth Sahib at three different places in India because no Hindu or Sikh would commit such an action. The Indian Janata Party, in highlighting this well-organized plot of Pakistan, has demanded that a detailed investigation in the matter should be conducted. According to Bhajapa Chief Minister Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi, "Since the formation of the new government in Pakistan, their secret agents have been successful in causing chaos and disorder in India, and also, they have been helping the rioters in India with arms, currency, and various other forms of assistance."

This fact that "how sympathetic Pakistan is towards the Muslims in India?", is evident and should serve as an eye-opener for the fanatics in India who favor Pakistan. The Muslims, who after the country's partition had migrated to Pakistan from India, were the ones who suffered the most from the fierce bloodshed that took place this year in Sindh, Karachi, Hyderabad, etc., in Pakistan. Several thousand Indian Muslims who are known there as "Muhajirs" were put to death during these riots. On incitement from the army and their immediate ruling People's Party of Pakistan, they sealed the colonies of the Muhajirs, raped their wives and daughters, denied them food to let them die of hunger, and also forced them to drink even the urines. The cruel manner in which they shot and showered bullets on the women, the children, and even the elderly who appealed for mercy, was so pathetic that it even shames the barbarious incident of Jalianwala Bagh. In his reaction over these riots, Shabaz Khan Majri, the former member of the Pakistan National Assembly commented, "Our own government is so hypocritical that it can criticize actions of other nations when in fact it cannot even put out fire in its own house."

The fact that Pakistan's claim for it to be a friend of the Muslims has also been exposed by Iqbal Ahmed, a professor from Pakistan. According to him, in truth, how much of a well-wisher Pakistan is towards its Muslims is quite evident when Bhutto had enlisted "Bihari Muslims" to kill Bengalis during the Bangladesh War. These people thus have since been deprived of their citizenship and are not even allowed to enter their own country even though Pakistan, 20 years ago, had planted the seeds for their existence for its own gain. Dr. Ahmed said that for Pakistan to think and assume to be the dictator and the caretaker of the Muslims in Southeast Asia, under the pretext of an inspiration of the Islam, is a mistake.

Till this date, Muhajirs have not readily been accepted into Pakistan. The Sindhis, who are always on the lookout to fight and oppose Muhajirs, claim that Muhajirs are not true Pakistanis. The language they speak is Hindi which in fact is a derivative of Hindi. Also, if tomorrow a war breaks out, then only God knows whose side Muhajirs would be with. In a similar manner, Muhajirs who oppose Punjabis, have been spreading the rumors that they (Punjabis) are the illegal offsprings of the Sikhs. Within Pakistan, in an atmosphere of hatred and animosity against one other, the Muslims are ready to kill the other Muslims. The Pakistani newspapers have carried this incident with headlines as: "The Dog Biting Another Dog." It will therefore, under the circumstances, be appropriate that Pakistan should worry about its own Muslims first. India and the people of India would take care of their Muslims by themselves.

### Iran To Give India Oil on Credit

91AS0549A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 4 Jan 91 p 13

[Article by R. Sasankan: "Iran Will Supply Crude on Credit"]

[Text] New Delhi, 3 January—Iran has come to the rescue of the foreign exchange starved Indian government by agreeing to supply 1 million tonnes of crude oil in the coming weeks on deferred payment.

This is the first major oil deal on credit to be concluded by the Indian government although it has been knocking at the doors of all oil exporters for credit facility since the Gulf crisis 5 months ago. The proposed deal with British Petroleum [BP] has run into some technical problems and the deal with Malaysia may not turn out to be very attractive, say international oil industry circles.

Iran has offered 90 days' credit and attractive prices. India will get the entire supply in January, February and March. To ensure that India does not run out of supplies in the event of a war in the Gulf, Iran will send a major portion of the contracted quantity this month itself.

The deal is considered a big success on the part of the petroleum ministry and Indian Oil Corporation (IOC).

India will get a mix of Iranian light, heavy and Lavan crude. It is a term contract and supplies will beat the lowest rates at which Japan, the most favoured buyer, gets crude from Iran. India is likely to enter into another term contract with Iran before the present one expires.

The foreign secretary, Mr Muchkund Dubey, is leaving for Tehran tomorrow.

Malaysia was expected to offer credit for 1 million tonnes of crude, but indications are that India will get credit for only half a million tonnes. The credit offer is only for 90 days as against 180 days sought by the Indian government. Diplomatic efforts are on to persuade the Malaysian government to raise the quantity to 1 million tonnes.

British Petroleum has agreed in principle to offer credit for 1 million tonnes of crude. But some technical problems have cropped up between Reserve Bank of India and BP's banker. The problems are expected to be sorted out shortly.

There were reports that India would get crude supplies from Angola. International oil industry circles rule out the possibility of India going in for crude from Angola in view of the freight disadvantage and the heavy nature of the crude which cannot be processed in Indian refineries.

### IMF Grants Credit for Current Fiscal Year

91AS0548A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 4 Jan 91 p 1

[Article by Tapan Dasgupta: "Rs 3,700-cr IMF Loan Granted"]

[Text] New Delhi, 3 January—India is getting about U.S.\$2 billion (about Rs [rupees] 3,700 crores) from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as immediate credit to tide over its balance of payment crisis during the current financial year.

The loan which consists of about U.S.\$800 million under the IMF's compensatory contingency financing facility (CCFF) and \$1.2 billion as a standby credit is being formalised. The IMF is likely to release the funds from this month-end.

With India's foreign exchange reserves dipping to a little over Rs 2,500 crores, the IMF funds will take care of the current financial year's balance of payment problems. The IMF funds will take care of the current financial year's balance of payment problems. The IMF, however, does not believe that this will be sufficient enough for 1991-92. While it is not averse to providing more funds as part of the structural adjustment loan, there will be conditionalities that will have to be negotiated, as these have political implications.

The CCFF loan is being given to partly compensate India for higher prices the country had to pay for importing oil following the Gulf crisis. A necessary condition for being entitled to this loan is to charge the full cost of oil from the domestic consumers. This condition was fulfilled when the Indian government imposed a 25 percent Gulf surcharge.

As for the standby credit, India has already met the minimum expectations of the IMF that a serious effort must be made to bring down the government's budgetary deficit. The recent tax measures slapped by the finance minister, Mr Yashwant Sinha, to raise a total Rs 1,200 crores is geared to this end.

The CCFF loan and the standby credit are short-term loans, with repayments to begin after a period of 18 months. Unless the balance of payments situation improves substantially through increased exports, repayments will put further pressure on the country's meagre foreign exchange reserves.

India, however, has the option of seeking the second tranche of standby credit as part of a bigger loan under the IMF's structural fund facility. But for this India will have to adhere to certain conditionalities.

Some of these, such as bringing down the government's fiscal deficit as a ratio of GDP [gross domestic product] further are desirable, even without the proddings of the IMF. A reduction in fiscal deficit is not possible without pruning the government's consumption expenditure on the one hand and increasing tax revenues on the other. And no substantial reduction in consumption expenditure is feasible without cuts in the expenditure on subsidies.

The finance minister himself told the Lok Sabha while introducing the direct tax bill during the current session of Parliament that the government would control its expenditure and rationalise subsidies. But it is easier said than done, for these measures have enormous political implications.

All other political parties are likely to oppose any reduction in fertiliser subsidy which now exceeds Rs 5,000

crores and higher direct tax levies, particularly in the present uncertain political situation.

### **Missile Boat Launched, Soviet Aid Cited**

91AS0547A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 4 Jan 91 p 3

[Text] Bombay, 3 January—The second state-of-the-art missile boat built by Mazagon Dock for the Indian Navy, was today flawlessly launched by Mrs Sunita Mehra, wife of Air Chief Marshal S.K. Mehra, the country's chief of air staff.

While the name of the first boat is Vibhuti, that of the second one is Vipul. It is believed that the Goa Shipyard and the Mazagon Dock will build four more such vessels for the navy.

The air chief marshal, who was the chief guest, said the Indian Navy now had a fine design and development wing for building ships indigenously. It was also coordinating with outside agencies like the Mazagon Dock, he added. Terming the missile boat as state-of-the-art in this field, he said indigenous production was vital to ensure safety of defence preparedness.

The air force chief mentioned that it was necessary for the country to provide a sufficient deterrent against external aggression.

The missile boat will be armed with surface-to-surface missiles, surface-to-air missiles, gun mountings for surface and air defence and launchers for camouflaging it. The boats are being built with help from the Soviet Union. They are called 1241 RE in India and are indigenised versions of the Tarantula class of vessels in the Soviet Navy.

Mr M.M. Puri the chairman and managing director of Mazagon Dock, said his organisation would launch Project 15, a major shipbuilding programme for the navy, early next month. The ships built under this project will be in the vicinity of 5,000 tonnes deadweight which will make them the biggest vessels built by the docks so far.

The chairman said a submarine rescue vessel was being built for the navy and a rescue-cum-pollution control vessel for the coast guard.

Mazagon Dock has built six Leander class frigates, three in the Godavari class, one training ship and two Corvettes for the navy. It has also designed and built seven offshore patrol vessels for the coast guard.

The first of the HDW submarines to be built in India has already been launched while the second one will be launched before the year is over. Mazagon Docks is waiting for a government decision on whether more such submarines should be built for the navy.

**Situation in Punjab Mourned as Pitiful***91AS0388A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi  
28 Dec 90 p 6*

[Article by Prabhash Joshi: "The Four Pillars Have Come Tumbling Down"]

[Text] One cannot get angry at the situation in Punjab now. The situation there is so pitiful that one feels depressed. Everything seems to be normal from outside, however, if you look closely you will find the disappointments and depressions as the result of the anarchy and terrorism. The face of our democratic government is blackened by the dark blood shed by 370 people killed there.

Of course, the state government has the police, government, and the army. However, the rulers are so terrified that when Sohan Singh's religious committee issued the "directive" asking the government to use Punjabi, the cabinet members of the Punjab government changed even their car registration tags. They knew that all cars must have tags in English according to the Motor Vehicle Act. Still, they acquired Gurumukhi tags for their government vehicles and did not even ask the chief minister or the governor about it. We are not talking about businessmen and storekeepers, these people are cabinet members in the Punjab government. The competition to use Punjabi language and Gurumukhi script due to terrorism is so intense that in spite of a directive from the governor, the minister of information did not translate government press releases written in Punjabi into Hindi and English. He went on vacation and the Panthak Committee welcomed this action. All press releases were being issued in Punjabi language until this past week.

Punjab is under the presidential rule or under Delhi. It is obvious that the government employees are way behind in fighting terrorism. Let us forget the clerical staff. According to informed sources, no government department, except for the police, dares to disobey the "orders" of the Panthak or any other committee. Dr. Sohan Singh's Panthak committee issued directions to government and independent communication agencies last month. In order to ensure these rules were followed, Rajendar Singh Talib, the director of Chandigarh Akashwani (radio station), was murdered. The killers declared in their statements that they had no personal enmity against Mr. Talib. He was killed as a symbol so that everyone knows what punishment they would get if they did not follow the directions issued by the Panthak committee. The Akashwani stopped airing Hindi news bulletins soon after that. Now they are relaying the Vividh Bharti program from Bombay. The Akashwani employees decided to do that as they had no protection. Now, the Akashwani and Doordarshan (television) are not private organizations; these are owned by the Government of India. However, the central government took no action when these departments submitted to another authority in Punjab. Mr. Sahaye, home and information minister, and Chander Shekhar, our prime minister, just

issued useless statements. The word spread that they do not have any power even over these departments. How could they control the state?

The personnel in other [government] departments believe that it is the job of the police to take care of terrorism and conflict. How is the police carrying out its duties? According to an informed source, only 10 percent of Punjab Police personnel have the courage to do their jobs. The rest of the police, while they do not protect the armed terrorists, do not do anything to control them either. They move away from places of incidents if they happen to be in the vicinity. They arrive at the site only to fill out reports. Most of the police personnel do not want to lose their lives for nothing. Peace and order are not important enough for them to lose their lives. The 10 percent who want to fight this state of affairs cannot afford to use common police procedures. They cannot act like a police force in a civilized democratic country to stop the criminals even if they want to. The reason why the methodology employed by the special police teams is not very different from those employed by the terrorists is that the police do not get the support, cooperation, and approval from the people necessary for such actions. The people are suffering as if two gangs are looting and persecuting them. In Punjab, the police is not there to protect the people. There is no one to protect the citizens. The government machinery just is not working there.

Two legislative assemblies have been elected since the present era of terrorism and separatism started. In 1980, Mrs. Indira Gandhi had dismissed Badal's Akali government 2 years before its term was to expire. After the elections, a working government under the leadership of Darbara Singh was established. This assembly remained for about three years. On 6 October 1983, Indira Gandhi dismissed her own party's government and established presidential rule. This presidential rule lasted until December 1985. This means that there was no elected legislature there and agents sent from Delhi were running the government. The next elections were held in July 1985 after the agreement between Sant Langowal and Rajiv Gandhi, and the Akalis formed the Barnala government with a good majority in September 1985. However, this government was not successful in controlling terrorism or the separatist movement. One Panthak committee announced the formation of Khalistan [separate Sikh state] from the Golden Temple. Mr. Barnala sent the police to the Golden Temple to control the separatists and had the Akali Dal divided between him and Langowal. Barnala managed to run the government somehow. However, presidential rule was established again in June 1987 and is running the state government now. Thus, two legislative assemblies were elected during the last 10 years and they functioned for about 5 years. However, they did not help in protecting the state from separatists and terrorists. Even the veteran Akali leaders admit that elections held in the present situation would herald the end of democracy in Punjab. The Chander Shekhar government is promising to hold elections in Punjab the same way as previous governments

did. The two pillars of democracy—legislature and government—have crumbled in Punjab.

The same is true for the judicial branch. Judges have been hunted and killed one by one. The witnesses were killed before appearing in the court and the message was clearly sent out that anyone who dared to appear in the courts against the separatists and terrorists on behalf of the police would be punished. The lawyers also knew that any action against the murderers would be futile. Our legal system provides many loopholes for criminals to escape justice. The police knows when it presents a case in the court that it will not get either any witness or any proof against the accused. The judge cannot do anything without these. The police do not try to gather proof or present witnesses even to follow the routine. The government lawyers also know how far and in which direction a given case is going. The presiding judge or magistrate knows what would happen if he tried to take the case farther than the lawyer and the police want it to go. The magistrates find prepared judgments for them to sign. Those who refused to sign these have already gone to the kingdom of God. The whole legal system has been destroyed and nothing can be done to touch even the worst criminal. The third pillar is still there; however, it is not doing anything to help govern the state.

The fourth pillar, the free press, was still doing its duty among the ruins of the government until one and half months ago. Lala Jagat Narayan was the first editor-journalist to be murdered. After that, whoever wrote something that was not acceptable had to pay the price of his ink with his blood. Over 50 editors, journalists, and press people have been murdered during the last 10 years. There was also a communal division within the press. All in all, however, the press did not throw in the towel like the government, legislature, and the judicial branches. The newspapers did some of their duties amid terrorism. The terrorists perhaps let the press work because they needed the publicity more than anything. Separatist and terrorist campaigns cannot be successful without publicity. Terrorism spreads only with publicity. If there is no publicity, terrorism becomes a local event. The terrorism that eats at the roots of democracy actually thrives only in democratic countries because of the free communication media that gives full details of murders and arson. The press in Delhi and Punjab has been serving the separatists and terrorists whether it wants or not.

When the Chander Shekhar government was established, one of the Panthak committees found that the new government in Delhi was the weakest ever and decided to make the press a strong medium for publicity. One reason for this could be Patiala's king Amerinder Singh's article against the concept of Khalistan published in Punjab's largest English paper, the TRIBUNE. That was the first article that had criticized an Akali leader about separatist movement and terrorism and also the first political step in which the Khalistan supporters were openly challenged. The Panthak committee had their response also published in the TRIBUNE. It also had the

statements of General Vaid's killers published uncensored. The newspapers that had published edited version of these statements were forced to republish complete versions one or two days later. It was followed by the directive issued by Dr. Sohan Singh's Panthak committee during the third week of November. It required the newspapers to call the terrorists "fighters," use Mr. in front of the names of the persons killed in encounters with the police, and use the title Sant before Bhindrewalan's name. This directive allowed the newspapers to criticize constructively the factionalism, but did not permit them to oppose the establishment of Khalistan. The Panthak committee declared that these rules would be effective on 1 December; however, the government and private communication media began to follow it before that date. The murder of Akashwani's Talib was an example to those who do not follow these rules. The Punjab press has become a weapon in the hands of Khalistan-supporters to help establish Khalistan.

A similar submission by the press was seen in Kashmir at the end of the last year. They had murdered Lisa Kaul and terrorized government and private press media so much that even today these media are working from Jammu. The press in Kashmir and Punjab have submitted to terrorists under such circumstances as never experienced by Indian press before. However, what has happened in Kashmir and Punjab could also happen in Assam tomorrow. Tamil Mukti's panthers could force this in Madras two days later. The Shiv Sena in Bombay can also force this situation. Breaking censorship during the emergency was punished with long jail terms or closing of the newspaper. However, even then they could get some relief from the Supreme Court. Today, the press in Punjab is in the grip of terrorism. Not only journalists, but also workers in the press know that they could be killed for whatever crime. How can the fourth pillar of democracy stay up when the other three pillars have fallen? Can a free press fight terrorism only with the help of the government? Is there any government whose major duty is to make sure that the free press is protected? However, it seems that the press and the people in our country are not even aware of the situation the press is facing in Kashmir and Punjab.

What and to whom can Chander Shekhar talk when the four pillars of democracy have fallen? Why talk about amending the constitution when nobody cares for the constitution?

### 1990 One of India's Most Violent Years

91AS0541A New Delhi PATRIOT in English  
2 Jan 91 p 8

[Text] The year 1990 will go down as one of the most violent in the history of independent India.

The rising tide of militancy in Punjab, Kashmir and Assam and the communal polarisation between the two major communities over the Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute stoked the flames of violence affecting several states, reports PTI.

The year also witnessed increasing deployment of the army to quell civil disturbances in parts of Kashmir, Assam and Punjab as also in cities worst affected by communal riots.

Another event which led to divisions in the society was the implementation of the Mandal Commission report on backward classes. It triggered off violence on an unprecedented scale resulting in several incidents of self-immolation by youth across the country and damage to property worth crores of rupees.

A total of 1,160 persons were killed in communal riots while violence in Punjab claimed a record number of 5,775 lives, more than half being innocent civilians, according to official figures.

The year saw an escalation of terrorism in Kashmir with bands of militants crossing over to Pakistan for training in arms.

The shape of things to come became clear in December 1989 itself when the daughter of the then Home Minister Mufti Mohammed Sayeed was kidnapped by JKLF [Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front] militants demanding the release of five of their organisation's activists. The release of five detained militants led to a new buoyancy in the terrorists' morale who felt "Azadi" was round the corner.

With a view to grappling with the deteriorating law and order situation and to restore people's faith in the efficacy of the administration, Mr Jagmohan addressed himself to the task of restructuring the State administration which, according to him, had become defunct because of terrorist infiltration in its ranks.

Mr Jagmohan's tenure, however, proved shortlived as the Centre decided to recall him following CRPF [Central Reserve Police Force] firing on the funeral procession of Awami Action Committee chairman Maulana Mirwaiz Farooq, who was slain by terrorists on 21 May. The decision to recall Mr Jagmohan was taken on 23 May amidst strong protests from the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] which then supported the National Front Government.

The immediate fall out of the activities of the subversives was migration of 1.5 lakh members of the minority community from the Kashmir Valley to Jammu and other parts of the country.

The violence afflicted Punjab went through another traumatic year though the situation in the State appeared to be taking a turn for the better in the beginning of the year when the then Prime Minister V.P. Singh offered an olive branch to the Akalis.

But Mr V.P. Singh could not get down to tackling the issue and initial gains were allowed to fritter away.

The latest spell of violence was sparked off following alleged incidents of desecration of religious places at Jullandhar, Gurdaspur, Ropar and Amritsar. This led to

deployment of the army in three border districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Ferozepur.

Police claimed in Punjab that it had eliminated a number of area commanders of various militant groups, including those of the "Khalistan Commando Force" (KCF), "Khalistan Liberation Force" (KLF), and the Bhinderanwale Tiger Force of Khalistan.

At least 275 militants, described by the police as hardcore, were among the 1,275 militants killed in various police encounters during the year. Police claimed that the number of militants killed during 1990 was the highest in the decade with the previous highest figure being about 700 in 1989.

The security men killed by the terrorists belonged to various forces, including the Punjab Police, home guards, special police officers, CRPF, BSF [Border Security Force], Army and national security guards.

The figure of 2,550 civilian killings was the highest since the rise of militancy in Punjab. The previous highest figure was 1940 in 1988.

The country witnessed communal disturbances of a magnitude and proportion never seen after partition in 1947.

The riots over the Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute affected rural areas as well while the attempts by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP] and its allies to start "kar seva" at the disputed site and the Uttar Pradesh Government's preventing volunteers from going to Ayodhya created considerable tension.

The flash points came on 31 October and 2 November when several 'kar sewaks' were killed while making an abortive bid to perform 'kar seva' at the site.

The arrest in Bihar of BJP chief L.K. Advani, who went on a 'Rath Yatra,' resulted in BJP withdrawing support to the National Front Government and its subsequent fall.

The States worst affected by the communal violence were Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, Karnataka, Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh. A total of 1,160 people were killed and over 6,300 injured in the riots as against the figure of 770 dead and 3,861 injured last year.

Hyderabad city and Rangareddy district witnessed three bouts of communal clashes leaving 161 dead. Gujarat accounted for 98 deaths in the communal riots.

### **Indigenous Light Trainer Aircraft Produced**

91AS0545A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 4 Jan 91 p 3

[Text] Bombay, 3 Jan—Indigenous aircraft development received a major boost when "Swati," a light trainer aircraft, designed and developed by the directorate-general of civil aviation (DGCA) made its maiden flight in November in New Delhi.

The aircraft was under the command of Captain R.L. Biala, inspector of flying in the DGCA.

Giving details of the aircraft, INDIAN AVIATION, a Bombay-based aerospace journal said that "Swati" is a light two-seat trainer for use in flying clubs as a basic trainer for the private pilots' license.

Though "Swati" was not the first aircraft to be designed and developed by the DGCA, it was, however, the first trainer aircraft in the country having its wings based on a special-airfoil section thereby ensuring excellent low and high speed performance characteristics, according to the journal. It has been designed to meet the most stringent airworthiness requirements.

The fuselage of the aircraft was made of tubular steel. The horizontal and vertical tails were made of alloy sheet metal. The wings were made of wood and plywood. "Swati" has a maximum speed of 200 kilometres per hour and a range of 550 kilometres, the journal reports.

It was estimated that around 130 such trainers were needed in the next decade which could be used by the para-military forces and the border security force. The cost of each aircraft was between Rs [rupees] 10 and Rs 12 lakhs. A formal approval is now awaited for the mass production of "Swati" from the government of India, after which Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited (BHEL) at Hardwar would start manufacturing it.

In the past the DGCA has designed and developed sailplanes, gliders and light aircraft of 12 different types some of which, mass produced by HAL at Kanpur.

It would be relevant to mention that the National Aeronautical Laboratory [NAL] at Bangalore has embarked upon two major civil aircraft projects. The first was a twin-seat basic trainer aircraft and the second was designing and developing a nine- to 10-seater multi-role light transport aircraft. The design for the trainer aircraft was frozen in June 1990.

The cost of each NAL trainer was expected to be between Rs eight and Rs 10 lakhs. The laboratory proposed to use advanced technologies to develop the aircraft.

NAL estimates a total investment of Rs 12,000,000 including the cost of land and building to set up a production line for the basic trainer aircraft.

### **Progress in Building Airborne Warning System**

91AS0552A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 7 Jan 91 p 10

[Text] Bangalore, 6 January (UNI)—The country's indigenously built airborne warning and control system (AWACS), the hi-tech eye-in-the-sky, will be ready in two years.

The successful completion of this prestigious project called ASWAC or aerospace surveillance warning and control system, will catapult India into a super-exclusive

league of nations which have fabricated their own AWACS systems, top defence sources told newsmen here.

Even the possession of these expensive and ultra hi-tech facilities is limited to a handful of countries. The induction of the indigenous version by the Indian Air Force (IAF) for the vital "force multiplier" effect will also provide a boost to the country's image as a regional force, the sources said.

The Rs [rupees] 200-crore AWACS project has crossed stage one with the commencement of test-flights of the "platform"—the HS 748 fitted with saucer-shaped rotodome in Bangalore. The second and crucial phase involving fabrication of the electronic heart will be completed in two years.

The sources said the platform was tested about a dozen times in the last two months with a transport aircraft of the IAF in chase. The first test flight was conducted here on 5 November, with Air Vice Marshal A.S. Lamba, commandant of the aircraft and systems testing establishment (ASTE), and group Capt Ravish Malhotra, chief test pilot of ASTE, in command. One of the subsequent flights carried Wg Cdr (Dr) K. Ramchand, the young chief executive of the ASWAC programme, on board.

A veil of secrecy has been thrown around the test-flights and other developments. Even Dr V.S. Arunachalam, the scientific adviser to the defence minister, was tight-lipped about the test flights. "Please don't ask me anything. I have been told neither to confirm nor deny the flights. If there are any announcements of the AWACS programme, the minister will make them" he told this agency during his recent visit to the city. (The prime minister, Mr Chandra Shekhar, currently holds the defence portfolio).

The sources said the platform behaved well during the test-flights and as predicted by computer simulation and wind-tunnel testing. A scaled-down model of the platform was earlier tested at the National Aeronautical Laboratory (NAL)'s wind tunnel facility here to see if the rotodome altered the longitudinal characteristics of the aircraft.

The sources said about 20 different facilities all over the country had been listed for the ASWAC. While Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL) was given the task of building the platform, the Electronics and Radar Development Establishment (LRDE) was working on the electronics systems which would be fabricated by Bharat Electronics.

The sources said after completion of the tests on the airborne radar and electronic components, the AWACS would be configured either on a Boeing 707 or the Soviet Ilyshun (IL 76) aircraft. The Airbus was earlier short-listed by the government for the "platform" function.

The sources said the AWACS programme was initiated in 1985 under the auspices of the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) in the wake of reports that Pakistan was acquiring the American E-2C Hawk Eye Airborne Early Warning (AEW) system. The ASWAC organisation was created for the purpose and Air Marshal C.V. Gole asked to head it.

The project slipped behind schedule due to a financial squeeze.

Pakistan has since acquired the long-range maritime surveillance P-3C Orion aircraft.

## PAKISTAN

### Pakistan's Relations With the United States

91AS0353B Karachi JANG in Urdu 19 Nov 90 p 5

[Article by Irshad Ahmad Haqqani: "Pak-U.S. Relations: The Near Past and the Future"]

[Text] After the dismissal of Benazir Bhutto's government and assemblies on 6 August, those opposed to the People's Party's return to power devised an extravagant and many directional plan which had several aspects: the appointment of caretaker governments of a particular structure and a certain point of view; the full use of the government machinery by them for election purposes; the start of a one-sided investigation; the decision to involve PPP [Pakistan People's Party] leadership in various cities in judicial cases and legal suits; the full use of all media of publicity (both government and private); the appointments and transfers of government officials to gain advantage in the elections and, most important of all, arrangements made on the day of assembly elections to monitor incoming results, and if the election picture should appear unfavorable, to plan for its "improvement"; preparations and plans for these and other such actions had already started on the day the assemblies and governments were dismissed. Among the issues which were used for relentless attacks on the PPP and PDA [People's Democratic Alliance], the two most important were those relating to the United States and India. A great deal of publicity was given to the notion that the PDA was responsible for the decision of the United States to suspend economic and military aid to Pakistan and that Nusrat Bhutto had traveled to Washington for this particular purpose. At that time, this writer had pointed out the sheer senselessness of such an accusation and now that the facts are coming to light, it is quite clear that the campaign launched by Islami Jumhuri Ittehad's [IJ] propaganda machine was baseless and that those who repudiated it were right. In an article published in the 9 November issue of an independent British publication, its commentator based in Islamabad has referred to President Ishaq's speech on relations with the United States:

"IJI members of the National Assembly acknowledged in private talks that the new government should solve the

issue of relations with the United States in an unemotional manner and should refrain from showing an unnecessarily strong reaction. These members magnanimously admitted that Nusrat Bhutto was not responsible for the suspension of aid. A young IJI member said: 'When the aid was suspended, she was in the United States and this gave us ammunition for our campaign. All is fair in love and war.' Everyone in the capital is of the view that even if Benazir Bhutto had been in office in September, the United States would still have exerted pressure over the atomic issue. (During Benazir's term of office) the United States had threatened us [as published] over the Kashmir issue when Senator Cranston came to Pakistan and told us: 'Close down those camps where you are training Kashmiri freedom lovers.' Problems had arisen over the Afghanistan issue as well between the PPP government and the United States. Not many people know that Mr. Kaloo, the former director general of ISI [Inter-Services Intelligence], turned down six requests by U.S. Ambassador Oakley to meet with him for talks about certain issues (including Afghanistan). The difficulty was that the PPP's media policy and public relations were very inefficient and unsuccessful."

In order to understand the last part of the above excerpt, one should keep in mind that after the United States and Russia reached a close understanding over Afghanistan, the former started to exert pressure on the Benazir Bhutto government to accept Dr. Najibullah's remaining in office until such time when elections supervised by the United Nations were held in Afghanistan. But Pakistan was not ready to accept this and Pakistan's high level military officials concerned with Afghan issues disagreed with the American position. It was to discuss this disagreement that the American ambassador wanted to talk with General Shamsur Rahman Kaloo who was appointed by Benazir Bhutto. But the general refused. Those who accuse the PPP of bowing to American pressure and of "losing the successful Afghan war" should find food for thought in the above-mentioned excerpt.

We are not saying here that in its 20-month term of office the PPP did not make any mistakes in foreign policy. It did make mistakes. For example, when Rajiv Gandhi came here to Pakistan at the end of 1988 to participate in the SARC leadership conference, he held a press conference jointly with Benazir Bhutto in which, in answer to a question about a referendum in Kashmir, he said that elections had been held several times in Kashmir and that the people of Kashmir had already expressed their choice. At that juncture, Benazir Bhutto should not have remained silent but should have explained unequivocally Pakistan's stand. That she did not do so was a great mistake on her part. But it is also a fact that when Rajiv Gandhi visited Pakistan again after attending the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution, and in answer to questions by newspaper reporters, repeated his former statement [about Kashmir], Benazir Bhutto explained clearly Pakistan's position and thus compensated to a certain extent

for her former mistake. Later, she took a firm stand in favor of the struggle of the Kashmiri freedom lovers and finally in August 1990, in the meeting of foreign ministers in the Islamic conference, she succeeded in having a unanimous resolution, which she favored, passed on Kashmir. If it is true that during Rajiv Gandhi's first visit to Pakistan her attitude was unnecessarily conciliatory, it is also an undeniable fact that she did not ignore or sacrifice any important national goal in favor of India. In the negotiations with Rajiv Gandhi, she consulted President Ghulam Ishaq Khan at every step and she adopted the practical position which was in harmony with national integrity, interests, and dignity. The same course was followed in dealing with the United States. When Senator Cranston visited Pakistan, the Bhutto government neither gave in to his pressure nor did it retreat a single inch from its position on the issue of atomic weapons.

The rigid and uncompromising attitude the United States has taken toward Pakistan in regard to economic and military aid is in reality a continuation of its past policies and is caused by other factors. The United States has accepted the validity of the recent elections in Pakistan and has even congratulated the new administration. There is no pressure from the United States over Bhutto. But difficulties are being encountered over the issue of aid. What does this show? Only that the position that the United States took in September-October on aid to Pakistan was not connected in any way with the domestic political situation in Pakistan; the United States wanted certain assurances in regard to Pakistan's atomic program and continues to insist on that point to this day. At that time, since an interim government was in office in Islamabad and its future was uncertain, rather than rely upon its assurances, the United States thought it better to wait for a new government to take office. Now that a new administration is in place, negotiations will of necessity be resumed with the United States. Such contacts are already in place and whether aid is resumed will depend on the results of present and future negotiations. Some analysts have expressed the view that the present coolness between the United States and Pakistan is not due solely to differences over Pakistan's atomic program but has other causes as well. For example, from the U.S. point of view, after the Afghan issue reached a certain stage, Pakistan was no longer as important as it was in the early and middle part of the 1980 decade. Also, in the present Gulf crisis, the United States did not receive the deep and extensive cooperation that it expected from Pakistan. The United States also feels that at present Pakistan has drawn closer to Iran rather than to America's friend Saudi Arabia. All these factors have contributed to the present decline in relations between Pakistan and the United States and the Benazir factor played no part in it. At any rate, the United States values its own interests and ideas and does not form its policies on the basis of any individual's rise or fall.

The position in regard to U.S. aid and relations with that country that President Ghulam Ishaq Khan outlined

recently in his speech to the parliament is entirely right and opportune, and it is to be hoped that, in its efforts to improve relations with the United States, the new government will keep in view this stand based on principle. We hope that we will succeed in reaching the goal of self-sufficiency and self-reliance on a permanent basis and save ourselves from dependence on the United States or any other country. This is not difficult or impossible to achieve; if we remain steadfast in our purpose, avenues to success will automatically open up.

### Independent Foreign Policy Supported

91AS0353A Karachi JANG in Urdu 22 Nov 90 p 5

[Editorial: "The Dangers Facing Pakistan and the United States"]

[Text] Pakistan's President Ghulam Ishaq Khan has tried once more to bring to public attention the fact that India's extensive war preparations pose a serious danger to Pakistan's integrity. During his talks with the commander in chief of Holland's navy, President Ishaq referred to the importance of the weapons reduction agreement between the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries and pointed out the need for similar agreements among countries in other parts of the world as well. He gave particular mention to Pakistan's attempts to have the Indian Ocean declared a peace zone. Only those utterly devoid of any sense would maintain that the war preparations being made by an aggressive country like India do not hold hidden dangers for India's neighboring countries including Pakistan. India has used its strength several times in the past to commit naked aggression against Pakistan. No fair-minded person would deny India's aggressive intentions toward Nepal, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka. Pakistan is a particularly painful thorn in India's side and Indian leaders very cleverly put on a show of peace and friendship on the one hand, and on the other, secretly hatch fresh plots to further their expansionist schemes. India stands third or fourth in the world in the size of its armaments and war materials and it is planning to use its power to swallow up its neighboring countries. It is ironic that none of the great powers object to India's plans and the United States in particular is providing every encouragement to India's schemes. The proof of this is that Pakistan's anxiety over India's atomic preparations is being dismissed on the grounds that since China possesses atomic weapons, no restrictions can be placed on India's atomic preparations. The question is, if China's atomic weapons can be considered a real threat to India, how can the danger to Pakistan posed by India be entirely overlooked? The recent sharp statements by the U.S. ambassador to Pakistan point to a change of attitude on the part of the United States. The United States has already suspended its economic and military aid to Pakistan; now it is attempting to intimidate us even further with such statements. This change of attitude on the part of the United States may appear to be the result of the lessening of worldwide danger from the Soviet bloc; however, the fact is that the United States did not treat Pakistan well

even in those days when it badly needed Pakistan's help to fight communism. Our leaders should face facts and not submit to wrongful pressure from the United States or any other country; our leaders should put their trust in God and show self-reliance in the defense of nation and country. Instead of adopting an unjustified apologetic behavior, our leaders should defend resolutely our legitimate rights and principles. We should also make a productive effort to inform world opinion of our position. As Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif has said, in constructing our foreign policy we should keep in mind the interests of Pakistan rather than those of the United States or Western countries. This is the only way a dignified nation can live with honor.

### Self-Reliance Urged

91AS0415D Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 23 Dec 90 p 3

[Editorial: "Pakistan's Nuclear Development And the United States"]

[Text] President Bush, when receiving diplomatic credentials from the Pakistani ambassador, told him that the rules about nuclear energy and weapons were very strict. He added that the legislators were discussing these regulations and he sincerely hoped that they would reach a compromise that would meet the U.S. regulations, and the friendship between the two countries would continue. President Bush must have said all this because of some constraints; however, we hope that these are removed and our relationship with the United States will not be hurt. Pakistan is the same country which has repeatedly refused to make nuclear weapons and has declared that it wants to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes only. It has no interest in making nuclear weapons and even had introduced the resolution in the United Nations to keep South Asia clean of nuclear weapons. The fact that the United States retreated from its demand to inspect Pakistani nuclear installation is very reassuring. It has still insisted that Pakistan must not make nuclear weapons even though the United States knows that Pakistan has assured it of its intention several times. The question as to how to convince the United States of it is still there. Mr. Nawaz Sharief, Pakistan's prime minister, has declared that Pakistan would never make any agreement related to nuclear energy even when the United States took back its demand to inspect our nuclear installations. The prime minister's declaration reflected our national desire and he could not ignore this and disappoint the people.

According to some observers, Pakistan has the ability to make the atom bomb even though it may have not made one. The U.S. prestige has been greatly hurt in the Islamic world because of its nuclear energy policy. Its attitude toward Brazil, India, South Africa, and Israel is very different than it is toward Islamic countries. India blasted an atomic bomb in 1974, but its relationship with the United States remained the same. The question arises: Why should not Pakistan take initiative in nuclear development for its energy needs, defense, and safety?

Should it sit idle and have faith in the United States which has always betrayed it, stopped its aid, and despicably tried to make it helpless? The same situation has developed now. Therefore, Pakistan just cannot neglect its defense and depend on the United States. Pakistan will have to do whatever it takes for this purpose. In the present world where only might is right, the Pakistani people demand unanimously that Pakistan make a place in the world for itself by developing nuclear capability. India, which is five times stronger than Pakistan has a lot more resources, is a constant danger to Pakistan's safety and security. It has forced war on Pakistan four times and Pakistan must become a nuclear power to protect its independence. It will make Pakistanis more confident and the elements that conspire against Pakistan will be disappointed. The current government must reject the U.S. demand and work on plans to be independent and not depend on U.S. aid. The people of Pakistan will remain united in support of the government and will make any sacrifice asked of them.

### U.S. Hegemony in Arab World Alleged

91AS0415B Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 13 Dec 90 p 3

[Editorial: "The Arab World and The Serious Situation"]

[Text] The cat is out of the bag now and the designs of the United States have been unmasked. The United States had landed its armed forces in the Middle East using a Security Council resolution as an excuse. It had assured the world that it was sending the armed forces to the Middle East to help liberate Kuwait and end the Iraqi aggression. Mr. James Baker, the U.S. secretary of state, has announced now that a permanent international army would be stationed in the Gulf after the present crisis is taken care of. Mr. Baker said that the purpose of this was to counter the nuclear and other weapons amassed by Iraq. Mr. Baker also discussed the Gulf issue with Mr. Shevardnadze, the Soviet foreign minister. The United States wants to control the Middle East permanently with the help of Europe and the Soviet Union in order to keep the mansions in the United States and Europe bright with the oil from the Middle East, protect its agent, Israel, from any danger to its existence in future, and to punish any country in the Middle East that dares to rise against it. It worries us that Iraq and other Arab countries have aggravated the situation because of their disagreements. The United States has decided to use its military force to make them obey it. There is still time for the Arab world countries to forget their misunderstandings and try to push back the U.S. aggression. The Arab countries would be permanently enslaved if they do not realize the dangerous situation now. Israel, the U.S. agent, will become the decisive force in the Middle East and rule them. They will not be able to live in their own homes peacefully, and their resources and wealth will be controlled by the United States and Israel.

**U.S. Accused Of Abandoning Afghan Mujahidin**  
*91AS0415A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 14 Dec 90 p 5*

[Editorial: "The U.S.-Soviet Agreement"]

[Text] The Afghanistan issue is not been settled yet; however, the Soviet Union, which caused this whole problem, has not only faced embarrassment in Afghanistan but also has fallen at the feet of its archrival, the United States. The Soviet Union has agreed to settle the Afghan Issue according to the U.S. desire. Mr. James Baker, the U.S. secretary of state, and Edward Shevardnadze, the Soviet foreign minister, discussed the Afghanistan issue recently. The Soviet foreign minister assured him that this issue would be settled according to the U.S. wishes. According to this agreement, rebel Afghan tribes will not be provided any military weapons or ammunition.

This was decided because the brave Afghan freedom fighters had broken the delusion of Soviet power when the latter attacked their homeland. When the communist bloc countries in Eastern Europe saw the mirage of Soviet strength being broken by the Afghans, they also took off the yoke of Soviet slavery from their necks. The whole communist world faced a failure and people were dying of hunger. The United States took full advantage of the Soviet Union's weakness and helplessness and began to interfere in the Middle East. The Soviet Union, which always opposed the United States, became a silent spectator because of its own weakness. It did not have the courage to object to the U.S. activities in the Middle East.

Now that the Soviets have left Afghanistan and a pro-Soviet government is installed there, the United States has stopped helping the Mujahidin. The United States wanted to help the Afghans only as long as it was worried about the Soviet Union. Why should the United States help the Afghan Mujahidin when the Russian bear has been tamed even in Europe now. The Afghan Mujahidin did not only want to throw the Soviets out, but also to establish an Islamic government in their country. The United States can accept anything except the progress of Muslims and victory of Islam. How could it bear a Moslem government replacing a communist government? Thus, it stopped aiding the Afghan Mujahidin.

The time has come for various leaders of Afghan Mujahidin to get together and think of ways to get rid of the government controlled by the communists and the capitalists. They are not going to get any aid from the United States or its allies now. Whatever action they decide to take would have to be taken on their own. This would be possible only when all factions of Afghan Mujahadeen decide to forget their differences and work together to throw the Najib government out of Kabul. If they do not rise to the occasion and do not unite, then the Najib government will also go away and a government controlled by the United States will be installed in Afghanistan. It is the duty of Afghan Mujahidin and its leadership to take action in order to make the U.S. policy

ineffective. Otherwise, their lengthy efforts would be wasted and the United States will achieve its goal.

**Crisis in Sindh Said Continuing**

*91AS0415C Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 8 Dec 90 p 3*

[Editorial: "Situation in Sindh"]

[Text] The law and order situation in Sindh, especially in Karachi, has become abominable. Abduction, robbery, violence, and looting have become a daily routine. The criminals have become so bold that they do not hide their faces any more. The chemists in Hyderabad stopped selling drugs and medicine as a protest against abduction and robberies in Hyderabad. Employees of Cotton Export Corporation and WAPDA (Water and Power Development Authority) were abducted in Nawabshah. The newspapers are so full of these sad incidents that the present government just cannot be unaware of the situation. The first meeting of the committee established during the prime minister's visit was held under the chairmanship of the prime minister's assistant. It was decided to immediately devise and implement a comprehensive plan to control the law and order situation. It was also decided that all departments will work closely to effectively eradicate the unlawful elements. A plan will be presented to Sindh's chief minister shortly. He will forward it to the prime minister for his approval.

Jam-e Sadiq Ali, the chief minister, met with the president earlier and explained to him his government's policies and plans. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan told the chief minister to accelerate the campaign to put an end to robberies, abduction, extortion, kalashnikov culture, theft, looting, and murders in Karachi, Hyderabad, and other areas of Sindh. Jam-e Sadiq Ali had told the president that his administration had already started a special campaign to eradicate crime in Sindh.

It is a fact that the people in Sindh are fed up with robbers, looters, and murderers. Their life has become intolerable from daily violence and lawlessness. They want to fully cooperate with the government if the government takes some concrete action. However, crime has become a profession in this country and the criminals have the support of people in influential positions. Until these influential people are taken care of, it would be difficult to apprehend the criminals or control this situation.

The people and their leaders want plans to curb lawlessness on a war footing and they want action now. The government must get rid of the flimsy bureaucratic approach to deal with the criminals and make sure they are punished without any delay. The people are becoming disillusioned and have started to say openly that they do not gain anything from the changes in governments. Therefore, something must be done immediately to raise the morale of the people.

# National Assembly By-Elections Viewed

91AS0510B Lahore VIEWPOINT in English  
10 Jan 91 pp 9-10

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Imtiaz Alam

After the unprecedented upset in last 24 October's National Assembly elections, followed by a more or less one-sided affair of the 27 October provincial contests, with Islami Jamhoori Ittehad's [IJI] landslide mandate, the by-election just 11 weeks after the event could have not been expected to be more than a non-event of "performing the last rite," as observed by a cynic "on the corpse of a rigged electoral process." In an otherwise exaggerated turnout, the IJI's victory with 52.8 percent of N.A. [National Assembly] seats was authored with a slight edge of 0.62 percent over the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance], which could hardly manage 22.7 percent seats with 36.65 percent of the votes cast.

Anyhow, by-elections are being held today (10 January) in 10 NA and 18 provincial constituencies, vacated by those 'popular' representatives who had won more than one seat.

## All of the IJI

But, ironically, all of those who had won national and provincial seats simultaneously belong to the IJI: 12 of the IJI MNAs [Members of National Assembly] elected from the Punjab and one each from the other three provinces were also elected as MPAs [Members of Provincial Assembly]. It appears that there was no reason in getting elected on two different tiers of representation other than the ambitions of trying their luck in the fortune-making process of cabinet-formation on the federal and provincial levels. In the past, certain leaders like G.M. Khar, Mian Nawaz Sharif, Farooq Leghari, Aftab Sherpao and Jehangir Badar contested for both the houses to provide their parties with an opportunity to place them in accordance with the convenience and priority on any of the two levels. But this time the number had reached 15, reflecting the increasing office-hungry tendency of IJI leaders on whatever level. Mr Ghulam Haider Wyne, Mir Afzal Khan, Mian Manzoor Wattoo, Malik Khuda Bakhsh Tiwana abandoned the membership of the National Assembly to become Chief Ministers, Speaker and Minister respectively. While others vacated 12 provincial seats either to get a position in the Federal Cabinet like Chaudhary Nisar Ali, Muhammad Yousuf, Murtaza Jatoi and Hamid Nasir Chattha or some of them having failed to get any slot in the Punjab Cabinet chose the national legislature like Shehbaz Sharif, Rokri and Chaudhri Abdul Ghafoor.

Although the present by-elections are more important in quantitative terms than the last post-general elections ('88) mini-polls, but on all parameters these polls present an entirely different scenario. The people are alienated and quite disinterested in a futile electoral exercise after

their traumatic experience in October. While the IJI is again relying on excessive official patronage, substantial funds from the national exchequer and other sources and administrative and private strong-arms methods.

The IJI leadership and candidates are also confident and relaxed over their expected victory. On the other hand PPP [Pakistan People's Party], which has not come out of its shock and seems to be in a state of near-paralysis, is participating reluctantly. Its workers are lacking their traditional enthusiasm, its organisation is mostly in disarray and its candidates, barring a few exceptions, are tired and with little hope.

The PPP Punjab leadership has tried to mobilise the party organisation, politicise the drab campaign on themes ranging from the performance of the Nawaz Sharif Government, rigging, inflation, denationalisation, loadshedding to the exposure of the IJI's victimization of the opposition and what they describe as the alliance's hypocritical and self-contradictory policies on issues like Kashmir, Babri Masjid, the Kala Bagh Dam and the controversial Shariat Bill.

Awarding of tickets this time again has been characterised by nepotism, baradri considerations, factional and vested interests. The IJI granted at least eight tickets to the sons or brothers of the vacatees and factional consideration can be seen in the granting of tickets to Raja Nadir Pervaiz in NA-62, at Mr Junejo's behest, and Mr Ghaus Ali Shah in NA-90 against the wishes of the local party organizations and workers. Even the ticket in Khanewal was awarded to Pir Shujaat Husnain Qureshi a big landlord and son-in-law of an ex-Governor, on a seat vacated by the most dedicated worker of the Muslim League.

If the IJI has awarded a ticket to a turncoat in Sargodha, Mr Qadir Bux Mela, who had defected from the PPP after its Government was dismissed last year. The PPP has also obliged Mr Bajwa in NA-62 with the party ticket, who was accused of floor-crossing. But this time, the PPP had no choice but to repeat its runner-ups in five places. If the IJI tickets were awarded by the alliance chief without any consultation with its parliamentary board as complained by no less a person than Mr Jatoi, the PPP also showed its disinterest in reviewing its past practices, criticised as being undemocratic and biased in favour of the moneyed and landed elite.

## All Quiet

While there was all quiet on the PPP front, protest by ML [Muslim League] workers against arbitrary issuance of tickets was quite vocal, especially in Toba Tek Singh, Faisalabad and Narowal. Given the heterogeneous nature of the IJI it is also faced with friction among its component parties and allies. By bringing Malik Rabbani Khar as its candidate against Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, it has annoyed not only its allies in the COP [Combined Opposition Parties] like the PDP [Pakistan Democratic Party] and the JUI [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam] but also its own components like the NPP [National People's Party]

and Jamiat Ahle Hadith who have all rallied against the alliance's official candidate.

In the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province], for the seat vacated by Mir Afzal, there will be a contest between the IJI and its ally the ANP [Awami National Party] and PDA including the JUI. This explains that electoral understandings without an agreement on policies is sheer opportunism and smacks of a non-party apolitical culture.

For the N.A. and provincial seats, 107 and 206 aspirants field their nomination papers for 10 national and 18 provincial seats. However, on the last day for withdrawals, 58 candidates for National and 127 for provincial candidates withdrew, leaving 58 and 82 in the run for the two houses. It all started with the withdrawal of Chaudhry Muhammad Boota, a PDA provincial candidate in PP-78, Gujranwala, who was said to have been coerced into withdrawing by IJI roughnecks, hence paving the way for the first uncontested victory of an IJI candidate, Chaudhry Nawazish Ali Cheema.

Except for a few constituencies, a great majority of 4.3 million voters remained unmoved during the canvassing period. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif launched his "tirade against hypocrisy" from Sargodha in the company of a turncoat Mr Qadir Bux Mela. Then came the startling retirement from elections of the two PDA NA candidates, Chaudhary Shaffa'at Ahmed from NA-90 Sialkot-VI, and Chaudhary Anwar Aziz from NA-91, Sialkot-VII, (where the election is scheduled for 26 January) along with the PDA's provincial candidate Arif Khan from PP-113, Sialkot-XII. A jubilant Nawaz Sharif said: "The people of Narowal had put a 'turban' on my head by electing me... and again they have reposed full confidence in the IJI's leadership by electing Syed Ghaus Ali Shah unopposed."

A stunned PDA leadership reacted sharply by condemning these "forced retirements under duress" as "pre-poll rigging." Senator Hafiz Hussain Ahmed and Secretary Information JUI condemned it as the "worst kind of horse-trading" and said that "the way three PDA candidates have been forced to give in Sialkot and Narowal is a matter of concern for every Pakistani." Mr Fakhar Zaman, President PPP Punjab, giving the background of the PDA candidates' retirement and joining the PML [Pakistan Muslim League], has alleged that the Prime Minister had managed by threatening to implicate the PDA men in the Idrees Taj murder case. Two of the three candidates who were made to shift their loyalties are wanted in a murder case, and Chaudhry Anwar Aziz was assured by the Chief Minister that 'justice' will be done in his case under Section 302, involving both the groups. The retirement of these PDA candidates, once again brought the gross violation of democratic norms to the fore and added to the people's disillusionment with the present sordid nature of a subverted franchise.

### Complaints

Countless complaints have been coming in from virtually all constituencies. Some are addressed directly to the Chief Election Commissioner. As Ms Benazir Bhutto has herself sent a telegram to the CEC [Chief Election Commissioner]. Some are addressed to the President and some, including from IJI components, have warned the Federal and provincial governments against their excessive use of unfair means.

During his visit to Muzaffargarh to support Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan in the by-elections against the IJI candidate, Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, the former Care-taker Prime Minister, made startling revelations about a well-thought-out political plan in the October general elections to defeat Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan and other senior stalwarts including Mr Wali Khan and Maulana Fazlur Rehman. He admitted that he was aware of this conspiracy but he could do nothing to stop it. He also cautioned the voters to thwart the conspiracy hatched against the veteran politician by not allowing any rigging on polling-day. This struck a serious blow not only to the legitimacy of the by-elections but it also strengthened the PDA's charge of the fraud committed in the general elections. Moreover, differences among the IJI components and its ex-COP allies, and the withdrawal of the PDA's candidate in favour of the Nawabzada is quite symptomatic of internal rifts and the tug-of-war going on behind the scene between and among the components of the IJI.

The contest in NA-137, Muzaffargarh-III, has become centre-stage of the by-elections-91. It has placed the Nawaz Sharif government in a dilemma: if it defeats the Nawabzada it will establish the rigging conspiracy and if it allows the PDP President to get elected, it may help create another front against it in the Parliament.

However, in spite of the cold indifference of the people to the by-elections, internal feuds in the IJI camp, local factors at play in certain constituencies and unfair practices, the by-elections in a few constituencies are going to be interesting. For instance, in NA-62, PML maverick Zahid Sarfraz and Chaudhary Sher Ali MNA and Faisalabad Mayor along with other leaguers have put up an embarrassing front against the official but imported candidate by bringing Chaudhary Munawwar against him. This may help the PDA candidate but there are indications of a repetition of the Narowal drama in one form or the other.

In Toba Tek Singh, the new PDA candidate is also expected to give a tough fight to an unwanted IJI candidate. In Sargodha and Khanewal the contest has taken interesting shape. In Mardan, the outcome is anybody's guess, as it has never been a League constituency.

In the Sindh by-elections the contesting two provincial constituencies would be a repetition of the hooliganism and rigging of last October. In Balochistan (NA-205,

Khuzdar), the PNP [Pakistan National Party] appears set to retain its seat if it is able to win some votes from the Mengal camp.

Given last October's experience, one feels that the actual voter turnout could be the lowest ever as the visible public apathy shows. Although PDA sees fair chances of success in five NA and six to seven PPP constituencies in the Punjab out of 22 seats, their estimates may go away after the retirement of their three candidates.

Generally, the by-election '91 are marked by the same anomalies, malaise, and perversion of the electoral process, plus an alarming lack of public interest and dejection with the quasi-electioneering in the backdrop of the anti-climax experienced in the general elections. Again, the most pertinent and basic questions arising out of the manipulation of the popular will by hook or by crook have come to the fore. They range from basic changes in the electoral system to ensure the fair, free and just electoral process, elimination of the influence of money and affluence of archaic social structures like the biradari and other parochial influences in our polity. But this is not a matter of merely changing certain rules and procedures. Unless the authoritarian elements in the State structure and society are made to retreat and acceptance of a true democratic culture takes root, the law of the jungle will continue to prevail.

### **Sociologist Ahmed Interviewed on PPP, MQM**

*91AS0510C Lahore VIEWPOINT in English  
10 Jan 91 pp 16-18*

[Interview of sociologist Dr. Feroz Ahmed by Zafaryab Ahmed; date and place not given; first paragraph is VIEWPOINT introduction; quotation marks as published]

[Text] In an exhaustive interview given to VIEWPOINT's Zafaryab Ahmed, a Harvard-based sociologist and former Editor of the Pakistan Forum, Karachi, and a one-time friend of former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, Dr Feroz Ahmed discusses the present political situation, makes a critical view of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] during its 20 months in power and takes a fresh appraisal the Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM). Excerpts follow:

VP: How do you look at the future of the present policy in Pakistan in terms of democratic politics?

F.A.: It seems that we are back on the track which the Pakistan army had embarked on during the Zia period. The Army had ruled Pakistan before this as well, but this time they have a very clear plan to institutionalise military rule. They have plans to clear all the hurdles. Foremost among these is the popular aversion to the army rule. They tried to break up the People's Party in the past. They did not succeed. In some of their other attempts, like the 1985 non-party elections they did make some headway. The installation of the Junejo Government was a success in the sense that it was not a

direct Martial Law, it did have a semblance of representative government, normalcy, a sense of urgency that prevailed before this to get rid of General Zia was gone. The Junejo Government also restored some democratic rights. The next step after that as far as the army is concerned was to have its own president in civilian garb. That one thing was lacking: the man in uniform was still President. They were still short of one step to put the 8th amendment into full practice. General Zia couldn't resolve the crisis in his own set-up and dismissed Mr Junejo. With his death, the train went off the track. They couldn't prevent Ms Benazir Bhutto from forming the government. The army and the bureaucracy always saw it as a deviation. They had no difficulty with the word 'democracy.' They were aware now that military rule was no longer possible. Ms Bhutto was an obstruction to their plans. They were determined to take care of her. I have always had a feeling that no matter what she did, her Government would in any case be dismissed on one pretext or the other. That had to happen. Now that hurdle has been removed. The army and the bureaucracy have succeeded in manipulating the election and have installed a government of their liking. As a consequence, you can see that President Ghulam Ishaq Khan is issuing ordinances and statements in complete disregard of the incumbent Prime Minister and the assemblies.

VP: The present Government to some looks very fragile while some think that it is very stable. Do you think it is capable of coming unscathed out of the present crisis?

F.A.: There are so many factors that one must take into account before one can say whether the government can sustain itself or not. I personally believe that only people's power can overcome the present crisis. Even though you see that people's power was not properly harnessed by the PPP and the Bhutto family. But we all saw that people put up tremendous resistance against General Zia. People voted for Benazir Bhutto in the 1988 elections despite all the odds against her and she managed a plurality. Given the odds against her it was a big achievement. It is a historical fact that the moment people get a little opening, they do assert themselves. But they need leadership, they need commitment. What bothers me is not the fragility of the State structure but the fragility of the democratic forces, the opposition, particularly of the People's Party. I don't believe that the State structure is fragile. The People's Party leadership is more fragile. It is not up to the task. It is not even capable of representing its own electorate or do what it wants it to do.

VP: When you say that the People's Party leadership is fragile, what do you have actually in mind? What we have on the other side, is a well-established and entrenched State structure, with all the resources to monitor all opposition to it. What do you think that the People's Party should do to come up to the task.

F.A.: I say that there are a lot of things that you do not do. If you have a disease for which you can't be cured that does not mean that you don't have a proper diagnosis. If you have proper diagnosis and you know that

you have cancer and you are not going to survive for long. That does not mean that you do not seek a cure. So it is not too difficult a thing. Nothing is guaranteed in politics. Even Mr Bhutto's life was not guaranteed. Ironically they (the PPP) didn't do anything. If they had launched a mass movement, there was a possibility that he might have been saved. Though there was no guarantee. If a movement had been mounted he might not have survived but there was a possibility. My suggestion is that let us work on that possibility. This is what my complaint is against People's Party leadership attitude towards the democratic movement in the 80's. I said this to Benazir Bhutto. I told her that I was not unhappy because we did not succeed in bringing down Zia's dictatorship but I am unhappy because she did not try to do the right kind of things.

VP: Such as?

F.A.: She made a compromise with the military-bureaucratic Establishment and with the United States. Either she shouldn't have made the bargain, but if she had made it she should have kept it. She knew it well what her parameters were, she knew what the nature of the balance of forces was; if she was incapable of taking on the army, she shouldn't have done that. She shouldn't have picked up issues like promotion and retirement of the top brass. More important is she should have been careful about her choice of Ministers. She did not have agenda for the people. Let me tell you that even if her adversaries had not tried to bring her down, she and her team had the propensity to make suicidal errors.

VP: What alternate you think she had? In power, she appeared to be caught in a catch-22 situation. Her adversaries did not want her to do anything. Her partymen also believed in the IJI's [Islamic Jamhoor Ittehad] propaganda. Some saw no difference between the PPP and the IJI. When she tried to assert herself, people said she was making the mistake of taking on the army. When she tried to mend fences with the military she was accused of capitulating...

F.A.: Let me tell you what I mean when I say having a programme. I don't care if someone has an ideologically different political programme from the IJI's. There are lots of little things that one has to do for the people. All that one needs is honesty and commitment. They made a farce of the People's Works Programme. Then there were cases of corruption she did not do anything about. There were adverse remarks made by the Lahore High Court against one of her Ministers. I don't want to go into personal and family affairs. I don't want to go into them although there is a lot to be said on that side, also. Then the Sindh situation. She chose people who were just sychophants. Now we see the man in Sindh whom Benazir shunned and rebuked and who is taking his vendetta now. At the same time, he is also showing his administrative ability.

VP: Do you think that Jam Sadiq as a Chief Minister of Sindh in Benazir Bhutto's Government could do a fraction of what he is doing today?

F.A.: No, no, no. The situation is different because today the MQM is his ally and whoever was encouraging the MQM, the army or the bureaucracy, they have their own Government now. They don't have any need to destabilise the Government. In the People's Party Government no matter who the Chief Minister was, Jam Sadiq Ali included, they would have tried to destabilise him. I do not say they would have succeeded. But at least he knows something about administration and he also has a public relations approach to politics. Those two PPP Chief Ministers had no initiative. They were isolated, they were loners whereas this man no matter what the circumstances, is a very gregarious person. He is very traditional in matters of hospitality. I do not intend to reduce politics to this level but these characteristics cannot be ignored either.

VP: You think that it would have been better for Benazir Bhutto to continue with the 'uncles'?

F.A.: Uncles. They have as much right to be in politics as she has. This is one thing she should have known. But I do not think she has understood it even now.

VP: Then are you suggesting Ms Bhutto should submit to the dictates of these 'uncles'?

F.A.: How do you know it is submission to someones dictate? Is the alternative to clean out the party of all the seniors? How do you know this is the only way to handle the situation? This is a clear indication that she was losing friends, she was losing people capable of leadership. What leadership does she have in the party now, tell me? If Zulfikar Ali Bhutto could handle all these people, why couldn't she? In the present IJI Government, no matter who is behind it, they have a spirit of accommodation. You've got to give them credit. Jatoi wanted to be the Prime Minister. They knew only one person could be the Prime Minister. One of them became Prime Minister.

VP: Do you think if any one of the aspirants for premiership had as strong a constituency as that of Ms Bhutto, independent of the support of the Establishment, he would have accepted Mr Nawaz Sharif as the Prime Minister?

F.A.: I am not saying that the IJI are inherently more democratic. What I am saying is this that when the PPP got a chance to handle the situation, it should have proved its mettle. Mr Bhutto had a big constituency, bigger than Benazir Bhutto's and was really firm and he had all the spirit and aggression. He knew that he had to share power with others. He did it even with the people whom he did not even like. Take the case of Mumtaz Bhutto. How have the two—the father and the daughter—treated him differently. Let me tell you on that when Zulfikar Ali Bhutto called Mumtaz Bhutto his talented cousin, the general impression was that it was a

case of nepotism. It was not. Each had won the elections on his own. But Bhutto shared power with Mumtaz. Benazir Bhutto did not even recognise Mumtaz Ali Bhutto. The attitude that our family has some kind of magnet to which people are attracted,, no matter what our objectives are, has to go. If she does not allow even a modicum of democracy in her own party, what kind of model is she setting up? This is not the stuff successful leadership is made of. This simple truth has to be told to her and to other people. I do not know if anything can be done. If the past is any indication and some of (her) present pronouncements are any indicator, then I do not see light at the end of the tunnel.

VP: You have done an extensive study on the MQM phenomenon in Sindh. There have been significant developments since you completed your study. How do you look at the MQM as a 'social force' now?

F.A.: It is a rather complicated phenomenon. When I first wrote on it, I identified some hopeful signs in the MQM. If these could have developed, it could have gone in a positive direction. I think both the Mohajirs and the Sindhis would have benefited. But there were other factors which were beyond scientific analysis, such as the question as to who was instrumental in the creation of the MQM and who was pulling its strings. I think that factor later on became very important particularly after the MQM formed a coalition with the People's Party in Sindh. From then on, their policy was dictated by their creators and the MQM did what they were told to do. The actual reality of their uneasy relationship with the PPP. The powers that be had decided to destabilise the Benazir Bhutto's Government. They are the ones who had created the MQM as part of their policy of ethnic polarisation in politics. They also encouraged that Sindhi nationalists. But I think that the People's Party leadership did not realise the nature of the problem. The sychophants that Benazir had around her were least capable of understanding it, what to talk of their handling the situation. I do not know whether they were even capable of doing so. Because the MQM had been imbued with a fanatic ideology of ethnic bigotry and at the same time by fascistic organisation with lots of muscle and firepower, private jails and what have you. I do not think it is only against the Sindhis and the Punjabis. It is also against the radical thinking Urdu-speaking people. It was a strange situation when instead of a government indulging in human rights violation against its opponents, it was an armed opposition group committing these violations. The Government had granted freedom to the Press but organisations like the MQM and the IJI were persecuting it and trying to stifle its voice at gunpoint. What I am saying is that the fascistic streak has become very prominent in the MQM in the last few years and the desire for reconciliation has just died out. Now they have established a very reliable relationship based on expediency with Jam Sadiq. They have been given all kinds of concessions. They have been told by their real masters to behave. It is in their interest to keep presenting themselves as oppressed which is

what sustains them. However, they are not oppressed. They rule Sindh. They have their local governments. They have their provincial Government. The Sindh Government is basically an MQM Government. They are the major party in the alliance. The Speaker is an MQM man. They want their man as Governor. Now as a matter of fact the Mohajir youth will be able to see why they are unemployed but the level of prejudice among the Mohajirs is so high that they are unable to think positively. The fascistic psyche always looks for scapegoats. I do not know when the truth will dawn upon the MQM supporters. But the pressure will have to come from below. It is a period of trial for the MQM, too. It is going to be very difficult for them. If on their own, they try to break out of the present alliance their masters will not allow them to do so.

VP: Is there a possibility of the MQM leadership going towards that positive goal you earlier predicted in your analysis?

F.A.: The aspect which is dominant now is known. In scientific research one usually does not count a fact that one does not know. People like me do not adhere to conspiracy theories, and try to highlight the social and objective condition. Even though in my first article in VIEWPOINT I did hint about people saying that the MQM was a creation of a certain agency. But now I must say that all other aspects have become secondary and the aspect that who pulls the strings has become dominant. But I can't see it to be in the interest of the Urdu-speaking people or Mohajirs as they are called.

### France To Supply Nuclear Plant

91AS0458A Karachi JANG in Urdu 24 Dec 90 p 12

[Article: "France Supplying Nuclear Plant Soon"]

[Text] Islamabad (by special correspondent)—It appears that the delay caused by the developments in August 90 in procuring the 900-megawatt atomic power plant has been taken care of. After reviewing various reports on the general elections, France has decided to follow the pre-August 1990 agreement regarding nuclear supplies. In order to install this 900-megawatt power plant, a high level deputation composed of French experts will arrive in Islamabad in January to discuss the technical aspects of the delivery. Mr. Munir Ahmed Khan, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, said that further action in procuring the 900-megawatt power plant will be taken soon. As soon as these plans are completed, decision on the French loan will be made.

### Commentary Examines Motives of Former Prime Minister

91AS0513G Lahore THE NATION in English  
10 Jan 91 p 6

[Article by Khalid Mahmud: "What is Mr Jatoti Up To?"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] For whatever reasons Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoti has deemed it appropriate to embarrass the IJI [Islamic

Democratic Alliance] government by playing the 'rigging card,' notwithstanding his disclaimers, it has given enough food for thought to the 'prophets of doom.' Given their track record, political alliances anyway do not have much credibility for effective and durable unity and the IJI was no exception. But Mr Jatoi's surprise move, which now seems to have turned into a 'campaign,' is perhaps a little too early a signal of cracks in the ruling coalition. Ms Bhutto was said to have given three months for infighting in the IJI to precipitate and advised her camp followers to lie low till dissensions in the ruling alliance came into the open. She could have been accused of being optimistic since things had gone so smoothly for the new government that there were no apparent signs of an impending crackup. Mr Jatoi, though said to be the Establishment's first choice for prime minister, was eased out of the race without any tangible fuss being created and Mian Nawaz Sharif walked into the high office on the strength of his formidable support base.

And notwithstanding Mian Zahid Sarfraz's recurring voice of dissent, there have been no discernible simmerings of unrest in the ranks of the ruling party. The Jama'at-i-Islami is, of course, not too happy with the turn of events; the IJI's sharing of power with the ANP [Awami National Party] in the Frontier and the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] in Sindh have been irritants that could have impelled the Jama'at to part ways with the IJI. Nevertheless, the Jama'at, having expressed its displeasure by refusing to join the government, has been content with getting a few extra seats in the by-elections. Junejo versus Nawaz Sharif tussle, which at one time had virtually split the Muslim League into two parallel organisations, could have been another source of discord. But, in the wake of Mr Junejo's 'rehabilitation' as the party chief and his faction been given a reasonable share in the Federal Cabinet, a working relationship has been struck between the two, which seems to be good enough to override minor infighting.

It is understandable, why Mr Jatoi is behaving like he is, albeit his frustration for having missed the bus again when the stage appeared to have been set for him to fulfil his decade-long ambition has been partially compensated by giving his sons ministerial berths. Nonetheless, what needs to be explained is his 'impatience' to stage a come-back from his self-imposed 'retirement' and seek a high profile on the national scene. If there was a plot to deny Nawabzada Nasrullah victory in the October polls, as Mr Jatoi has alleged, it is certainly not a cause worth fighting for a man like him. Though he has disclaimed having said that Nawaz Sharif does not wish to see Nawabzada's face in the National Assembly and has cast his rigging charge in ambiguous terms, there is no doubt in anybody's mind as to who is the target of his attack. And by joining Nawabzada's campaign in the by-election against the IJI's official candidate, he has clearly indicated his future course of action.

Does Mr Jatoi stand to gain anything by discrediting the Nawaz Sharif government? Surely, it is not merely out of frustration that he is trying to get even with those who did not let him become prime minister. But, in case, it is a calculated move, what makes him think that he can extract mileage out of it. He can hardly afford to desert the ruling alliance, or make a common cause with the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] and has, by no means, the capacity to foment a revolt in the IJI against Mian Nawaz Sharif's leadership. It could have been regarded as a pressure tactic to improve his bargaining power, but Mr Jatoi, having once rejected the offer to become deputy prime minister, has no slot to bargain for, unless he is prone to making another bid for the office of prime minister. All said and done, Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi is back at his favourite game, albeit he still is a general without an army to back up the salvo he has fired to signal his arrival.

As the 'conspiracy theorists' would have it, Mr Jatoi's reemergence on the scene marks the beginning of infighting in the power-structure. And he has been brought back to cut the new prime minister to size before he grows too big for his boots. There is no denying the fact that Mr Jatoi has been a favourite of the powers-that-be and has from time to time been propped up to run for the top slot. He fits in perfectly with the job description the Establishment wishes to assign to the prime minister, not only on account of his being palatable to its biddings but also because he is easily dispensable. It should surprise no one if he is fighting a 'proxy war.'

Political pundits have been predicting that sooner or later 'conflict or interests' will give rise to power struggle within the ruling hierarchy, since it is inherent in the scheme of things. Given the experience of Junejo and Benazir, one tends to agree with their assessment. The prime minister is supposedly a co-sharer of power and he, being more dispensable than others, notwithstanding his popular mandate, is under the normal circumstances, destined to play the junior partner. But, in case, he chooses to assert himself and tries to act as the chief executive he will be seen as overstepping his jurisdiction and may ring alarm bells in the Establishment.

Mian Nawaz Sharif has no doubt the capability to rectify the tilt against the prime minister in the post-Eighth Amendment scenario and, given his massive majority in the House, is not the sort of prime minister who could be easily dispensed with. Nonetheless, he hitherto has neither given any indication of having run into difficulties dealing with his co-sharers of power, nor seems inclined to disturb the status quo insofar as the functioning of the troika is concerned. In case one were to buy the theory that Mr Jatoi is not acting on his own but has been assigned the job, it would imply that a drive to destabilise Mian Nawaz Sharif is on the anvil. The only logical explanation, for such a move, in the absence of a provocation, would be that the Establishment is taking no chances with the man who has the potential to grow

into an authoritative prime minister and wishes to forestall any attempt to repeal the Eighth Amendment.

Ironically, Mr Jatoj has been so often in the past taken for a ride that he should have been the last person to get into this business again. The temptation is indeed irresistible, but a politician of his standing should have by now learnt the difference between the 'desirable' and the 'achievable' and what is required of a person to fill that gap. Quarter of a century in politics is long enough for a politician to know where does he stand. And if he is not capable of standing on his own feet, he should not aspire for a position which in a democratic system calls for the authentic political leadership.

## SRI LANKA

### LTTE's Unilateral Hostility Suspension Probed

#### Motives Questioned, Caution Urged

91AS0523A Colombo *THE ISLAND* in English  
3 Jan 91 p 6

[Quotation marks as published]

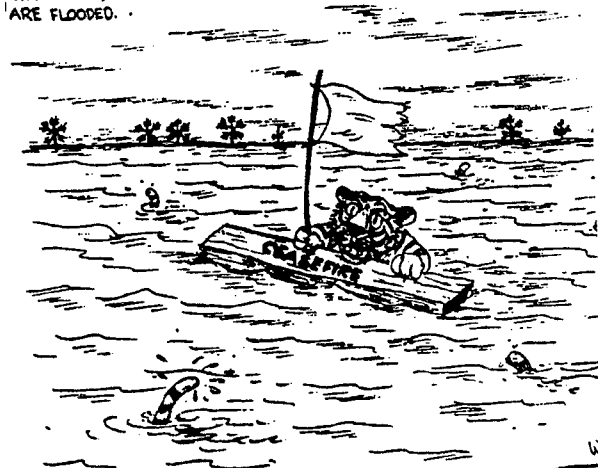
[Text]

"THE ISLAND" pats itself on its back today. Yesterday, in the last paragraph of our editorial, we said: "For peace to be restored there has to be a consensus among major parties of the South or at least a bi-partisan consensus among the two major parties in the South. Past experience has shown that such a consensus is vital to the settlement of the Tamil problem." As the first edition of THE ISLAND went to press with these comments, President Premadasa speaking in Kandy, has said that he would be consulting all political parties with regard to the ceasefire declared by the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] before arriving at a decision. Since all sections of the people and all political parties had extended support to the government to overcome the threat of the LTTE, it was fair that all political parties should be consulted before arriving at a decision, he has said.

Since the inception of the conflict with the Tamil militants, THE ISLAND has been calling for consensus among political parties in the South, if a lasting solution to the Tamil problem is to be found. We have been pointing out that one major stumbling block has been that the Sinhalese political parties have not been able to reach consensus of a solution to this vexed problem by the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam pact or the Dudley-Chelvanayakam agreement.

Since 1956 elections have indicated that both the UNP [United National Party] and the SLFP [Sri Lanka Freedom Party] command the support of a wide section of the Sinhala people and unless party leaders are agreeable to the formula that is worked out, the party in the opposition will cry "sell out," scuttling a settlement.

TIGER BUNKERS  
ARE FLOODED.



Such a package of proposals will have to be considered seriously by Tamil leaders because it would be representative of the entire Sinhala community.

The question now however, is not yet the case of proposals for a solution to the problem, but whether the ceasefire proposal should be considered by the government.

The basic issue to be considered by all parties first is whether this proposal has the backing of the LTTE leadership. The proposal is said to have emanated from Mr Krishna Kumar alias Kittu from London. Mr Kittu is considered one of the leaders but the 'supremo'—as foreign correspondents are fond to say—is Mr Vellupillai Prabhakaran. The first thing the government must insist upon is that the offer comes directly from Mr Prabhakaran and that it is Mr Prabhakaran who should make the offer. The LTTE should not be given the impression that they can declare war or peace at any given moment and then expect the government to jump to it.

The second factor to determine is, the reason for this sudden desire for peace on the part of the Tigers. While a ceasefire will bring definite solace to the people of the North and the East caught amidst the crossfires and landmines, to believe that the concern of the Tamil people was what motivated the Tigers to declare a ceasefire is extremely naive. As we commented on Monday, this ceasefire is motivated mainly because of the adverse reaction building up against the LTTE in Tamilnadu. Without that base, which they even had at the time of the IPKF [Indian Peacekeeping Force] operation, the LTTE will cease to be a potent guerilla force. The other reason could be the unpopularity of the LTTE among the Tamil people. Quite apart from the unbearable suffering and sorrow brought upon them by the ravages of war it is well known that the LTTE have become extortioners. To leave the Jaffna peninsula, the LTTE 'taxmen' demand two gold sovereigns or the equivalent in cash. Houses and property have been

seized and young children recruited for their barbaric offensives. A ceasefire declared by them and broken later on a flimsy excuse, could make the Tigers blame the Sri Lanka government for their misery once the fighting commences.

A ceasefire could also be made use of to move their cadres freely and gain military advantage like they did when negotiations were on earlier. The government should also consider the number of ceasefires called and broken by the LTTE.

Finally, the LTTE should be asked what their basic proposals are for a negotiated settlement. Mr Shahul Hameed had been talking to Tigers for well over a year in five star hotel comfort and we presume the issues have been narrowed and identified clearly. There are non-negotiable issues such as the acceptance of a unitary state and surrender of arms. Unless these basic conditions are agreed upon, talking of "viable alternatives" without going into specifics will be ridiculous.

All parties should examine these issues at length and then decide on a ceasefire. Rushing into accept a ceasefire without due consideration will be tantamount to charging into a mine field.

#### **'Political Solution' Urged**

91AS0523B Colombo *THE ISLAND* in English  
8 Jan 91 p 6

[Text] Judging by the number of ceasefire violations and the nature of the demands made by the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] spokesman, Mr Sathasivam Krishnakumar alias Kittu it is very likely that this ceasefire will end soon. It means that the Sri Lankan army and the Tigers will be locked in battle again.

Mr Kittu has put forward his demands, but not a single political party in the south has presented their 'political solution.' There had been much discussion and formula worked out on certain issues but they are certainly nowhere near a comprehensive solution. For example, some Tamil and Muslim parties and political groups worked out a formula for devolution of power in the Eastern province but such a formula without the consent of the Sinhalese population will be no solution at all. There have been deliberations of the All Party Conference too but without the agreement of one of the two major Sinhalese parties, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party [SLFP], such discussions have been and will be of little relevance.

It is quite obvious that a political solution will remain elusive as ever until each political party announces its own package of proposals. Unfortunately, it has to be admitted that all political parties are fighting shy of making any specific proposals of their own and are instead making generalised statements. It is also curious that despite the number of pundits who wax eloquent about political solutions being galore, not one such

enlightened person or even a typewriter strategist has dared to put down their own political solution on paper.

This issue however cannot be dodged for long.

One set of proposals that was attempted to be implemented and is on paper is the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement. Parts of it have been implemented, others not. The question arises whether the present government accepts this agreement. There are very valid arguments to hold that the agreement is not binding. The agreement was signed under coercion when Sri Lanka was threatened by Indian airforce planes which violated our air space and also the threat made that surface-to-air-missiles would be given to the Tigers. Nevertheless, some parts of this agreement have been implemented. The government should make its position clear vis-a-vis the agreement.

The Indian foreign Minister Mr Vidya Charan Shukla is scheduled to arrive in Colombo soon and already some sections of the Indian press are advocating coercive diplomacy—a positive shift from the stand taken by the V.P. Singh Government.

The issue of the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement is bound to be raised by the Indian foreign Minister and Sri Lanka should exercise a great care in not repeating earlier mistakes by discussing the country's internal affairs.

However, as Sri Lankans we should continue in the pursuit of a solution to our own internal problem. And that will not be possible as long as political parties play with their cards held close to their chest and mumbling about political solutions without making an attempt to get to grips with the problem.

In the absence of such a solution, the inevitable is a military confrontation. Admittedly political solutions to problems of this nature are hard to find. At times the political solution results from a turn of events on the battlefield. A guerrilla group will be too cocky to accept a reasonable solution unless they see defeat ahead. Thus, however much some may lament the tragic loss of life of the poor soldiers—forgetting at times the equal tragic loss of life of the young Tamil boys conscripted for battle—armed struggle may have to go on for some time. Meanwhile political parties as well as those well informed persons should not hesitate to formulate their proposals and place them before the public.

#### **Ceasefire Offer Ignored**

91AS0523C Colombo *THE ISLAND* in English  
16 Jan 91 p 3

[Article by Shamindra Ferdinando]

[Text] The leadership of the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] terrorist group has said in a statement issued from its London office yesterday that it would continue a unilateral suspension of offensive type action despite the Army's decision to resume the military campaign, diplomatic sources said.

The statement came just 24 hours after the terrorists blamed the Sri Lanka Air Force (SLAF) for killing nine Tamils and destroying many houses and vehicles in an air attack in the northern Kilinochchi town, last Saturday.

A spokesman for the Army said that SLAF bombers had attacked and destroyed a major terrorist arms making factory close to the Kilinochchi town killing many terrorists.

Sources who had monitored the LTTE statement said that the group had announced its willingness to continue a unilateral ceasefire which came into effect midnight 31 December last year.

However the Army which has rejected the terrorist offer to cease hostilities in the war ravaged North East province launched ground and air attacks on the terrorists hours after the lapse of a ten day suspension of offensive type operations order from the Government midnight on Thursday 10 January.

The statement has further said that the terrorist leadership was ready to enter into fresh dialogue with the government even without conditions. The Army said that the terrorists were not interested in peace. Senior officers linked the decision taken by the terrorists to extend a unilateral ceasefire with possible internal problems within the LTTE and shortage of arms and ammunition.

The interception of three boat loads of arms in the Straits of Malacca off the Penang Island by the Malaysian Government and seizure of arms and thirty three men have influenced the terrorist decision sources claimed.

A Malaysian diplomat yesterday said that action will be taken against those who have been arrested in this connection.

The arms were seized along with thirty-three men when the Malaysian Government boats intercepted three boats hired by the LTTE terrorists to take a massive consignment of arms to a ship anchored in international waters.

Malaysian sources ruled out the possibility of the government releasing the arms believed to be worth at least 2 million U.S. dollars.

Malaysia is one country in the region where the laws are tough a diplomatic source said. Sources further said that developments in neighbouring India have also compelled the LTTE terrorist leadership to resort to ceasefires with a view to maintaining good relations with India. Meanwhile in the battle front, the Army continued a major thrust against terrorist camps in the east while SLAF planes continuously bombed and strafed suspected terrorist-held positions, Army said, yesterday.

The sources questioned the absurdity of talking with a group of terrorists who have been engaged in anti Sri Lanka propaganda among other things. Despite the fact that it was the LTTE which had violated its own unilateral ceasefire on 11 January former commander of the Jaffna peninsula Kittu in a statement blamed the Army for violating the ceasefire 39 times. They said that the whole thing was a ploy to regroup again and attack.

"There would not be any ceasefires," one officer said claiming the forces would go all out to wipe out the LTTE.

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